

VTU FLOOR

**THE JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.**

DATE LOAND

Class No. _____ **Book No** _____

Vol. _____ **Copy** _____

Accession No. _____

--	--	--

ALLAMA IQBAL LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR

Acc. No. _____

Call No. _____

1. This book should be returned on or before the last date stamped,
2. Overdue charges will be levied under rules for each day if the book is kept beyond the date stamped above.
- 3 Books lost, defaced or injured in any way shall have to be replaced by the borrower.

Help to keep this book fresh and clean

ALLAMA IQBAL LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY OF KASHMIR

Call No. _____

Acc. No. _____

1. This book should be returned on or before the last date stamped,
2. Overdue charges will be levied under rules for each day if the book is kept beyond the date stamped above.
- 3 Books lost, defaced or injured in any way shall have to be replaced by the borrower.

Help to keep this book fresh and clean

The Jammu & Kashmir University Review



A Journal of The University of Jammu and Kashmir

Vol VI.

No. 1

CONTENTS

Editorial :	1
Zohra Husaini : The Relation Between Science and Moral Values	3
Ish Kumar : Keats The Poet of Sorrow	29
N. L. Ahmad : Some Aspects of Life and Culture in Mughal India	35
B. N. Pandit : Saivistic Conception of Liberation	63
Dr. R. K. Kaw : Western and Eastern Spiritual Values of Life	70
About Ourselves :	79

Education J.K.B.



EDITORIAL BOARD.

MR. S. L. PANDIT, M. A., Post-graduate Department of English
(Chairman).

DR. J. N. BHAN, M. A., PH. D., Post-graduate Department of
Economics.

DR. M. S. WANT, M. A., PH. D. (Leeds), Post-graduate Depart-
ment of English.

MR. M. R. PURI, M. A., M. SC. (London), D. I. C. [London], Post-
graduate Department Mathematics.

2278-15509546
493

It is intended to bring out at least two issues of the journal in a year.

Contributions on literary, social, educational and scientific topics will be welcome from all quarters and should be addressed to Shri S. L. Pandit Post-graduate Department of English, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar.

Subscriptions, at the rate of Rs. 1.50 (India) per copy, are payable to The Registrar, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar.

Advertisements about book and journals can be printed at rates which may be ascertained from the Chairman, Board of Editors.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
Library
Acc. No. 459998
Dated:


Allama Iqbal Library
459998

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR UNIVERSITY REVIEW

Vol. VI

No. 1

EDITORIAL

It is now nearly three years since the post-graduate departments of English, Mathematics, Hindi and Urdu started functioning at the campus by occupying the Arts Faculty Block, the first building to be constructed at the site. During these three years commendable progress has been made in the building programme of the University. The departments of Botany, Zoology, and Physics are now housed in their own buildings. The Boys' Hostel started functioning early during the current session, and we have now about 30 students residing there. The administrative block is under construction, and it is expected that, before the year is out, the Registry may be able to shift there.

The picture drawn above is obviously a very encouraging one, and we must record here our appreciation of the great contribution made by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, the out-going Vice-Chancellor, in facilitating the development of the University in all directions during the two years he functioned as administrative and academic head of the University. Nevertheless, we have to admit that we have not so far been able to develop, to a sufficient degree, that academic and cultural atmosphere

which is so essential for the progress and proper functioning of a university. There are a number of reasons for this, and it may not be out of place to mention some of them briefly.

In the first instance, the functioning of the University departments depends upon satisfactory transport arrangements, as the overwhelming majority of the students and practically all the members of the teaching staff at present reside in the city. We have not so far been able to provide adequate transport facilities, and the solution of the problem seems to be in the University undertaking to run its own vehicles. Another serious handicap from which the students and the staff suffer is that the main University Library is still housed at Lal Mandi and thus practically inaccessible to them. The organization of small, though well-stocked, departmental libraries cannot fill the place of the main library. Ultimately, a proper campus atmosphere will be created here when more and more students and teachers are able to reside at the premises. For all these things we may have to wait, and the growth of an educational institution like this University is always a matter of time. But, in all circumstances, we should ever keep in mind our main objectives in so far as the future development of this University is concerned.

While welcoming Shri T. M. Advani on his taking over office as Vice-Chancellor, we may express the hope that, with his considerable experience of educational administration, he will give his earnest thought and attention to all our pressing problems.

THE RELATION BETWEEN SCIENCE AND MORAL VALUES

ZOHRA HUSAINI

I am deeply grateful to the Kashmir University, particularly to its distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Sardar Panikkar, for the honour done to me by their asking me to lecture under the University scheme of extension lectures. Yet I feel embarrassed at this honour. I cannot very well venture to apologise on behalf of the University for the invitation which it has seen fit to extend to me in its wisdom, but would certainly like to apologise on my own behalf. I have been till very recently a student, first in India and later at the Cambridge University, and my sincerest ambition is always to continue to be a student. For kindling this ambition, I feel particularly grateful to the Cambridge University where I learnt something of the thrill of scholastic pursuits, of struggling with ideas and the deep satisfaction that comes from disinterested research. One may not be able to make a significant contribution to knowledge, but in such work one has always the consolation that "it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive and the true success is to labour".

I realise that the subject I have chosen for discussion today is too vast and complex and difficult to be treated with justice in one paper, but my plea for taking it up is that it is as deeply absorbing and interesting as it is complicated and profound; absorbing because it concerns us, human beings, and complicated because human beings represent that most complex life pattern that evolution has brought into being. Moreover,

there are many problems peculiar to our modern age, particularly that of the relationship between science and ethics—to which we, as the heirs as well as the victims of the age, are exposed persistently. They have generated many trends of thinking and feeling which I would like to present before you. But as they cannot be treated adequately in one paper, I can do no more than to introduce them to you, with the painful awareness that it would suffer from the incompleteness and over-generalisation, inevitable with all introductions.

It is a widely held opinion that, as contemporary man has made great scientific and technical progress, he has lost something in this process which is of vital importance. It is argued that man is losing hold on human moral values, or if you prefer, moral values are losing their hold on him. The blame for it mainly goes to what we might call the “new knowledge”, which includes various natural and social sciences, modern art and literature, general beliefs and attitudes, in short, the entire modern way of thinking, which is essentially a scientific way of thinking. It is pointed out, even by the man in the street, that the scientific and technical advance has led to the manufacture of atomic weapons which can, not only inflict incalculable misery on humanity, but can bring about mass extinction. This development has resulted in fear, hatred, unrest, mass hysteria and panic and consequently in distorting the human mind and personality. All this is naturally detrimental to the cultivation of human values required for building the good life. Now it is comparatively easier to meet this objection, because it can be shown to be rooted in a narrow view of the nature of science and a failure to understand the larger political, social and economic issues involved. The discussions on the problems regarding the ethics and the science, usually carried on by the moralists, proceed on some such lines: the scientist

should learn what human values are—as if they do not know—and that they should utilise the power of science for humanitarian purposes. No doubt, generally speaking, they should, and I am in complete agreement with such recommendations.

But today I want to approach this problem from a different angle. I am not a scientist, but a student of humanities with a deep belief in the value and future of science. I want to put it to you for consideration that most of our present difficulties in correlating science and human values emerge, neither from a misuse of science only, nor from the ignorance of the scientist about human values, but from the misunderstandings, narrow outlook and dogmatic approach, adopted by most of the moralists, to the moral issues; as well as from their prejudice against the scientific approach to moral questions. For once let us see the beam in your own eyes, instead of pointing at the mote in the scientist's eye. The fact is that we are prejudiced against the scientific approach to moral problems, because we fear that its questioning, doubting attitude would lead to moral scepticism, if not to total moral collapse. We believe that all moral rules must be accepted on faith from some higher authority, hence they are beyond question. To question them is to weaken their hold on our minds. But I cannot believe that a scientific enquiry into the moral concepts would necessarily weaken our moral sense. On the contrary, it can help us in analysing, elucidating and clarifying many complex, inexact and confused notions involved in our current moral rules and practices. We may, in the course of our inquiry, discover that they are inadequate for the needs of modern life and we may be able to discover new principles based on a rational scientific outlook, suited to the demands of the modern age.

Let us then ask what morality usually connotes, and what are some of the ambiguous and dogmatic notions embedded in its current rules. The word 'moral' is a derivation from the Latin 'mores' which means *rule* or *custom*. Similarly, the cognate term 'ethics' is derived from the Greek word 'ethos' meaning 'way of life'. Thus, in its popular and customary usage, morality means certain customary and conventional rules and norms of conduct. They comprise the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of behaviour which consist of a set of injunctions, for the guidance of the practical life of the individual, i. e., how he *ought* to behave towards other individuals in different situations.

From the time the child became conscious of the world and more so, since he learns the use of language, he is confronted with a series of commands from one authority or another—"you should do this" or "you should not do that". Not all such commands are moral in nature. Only those which embody the notions of right and wrong, good and bad, duty and obligation, are to be termed as having a moral basis, because they are concerned with the shaping of our conduct and character. They generally take the form of commands. Love thy neighbour—which means it is good to love your neighbour. Do not lie, which means it is wrong socially and morally to tell lies. Or, "respect your parents", which implies that it is your duty to show respect to them. These are matters of personal conduct, but such moral laws are also meant to guide the social life of the individual. Hence such injunctions as—"It is wrong to marry outside your caste", or, the belief among the orthodox that it is their duty to keep the "untouchables" outside the temples of God, etc., etc.—also are supposed to possess moral authority. One need not multiply instances, as all of us know what kind of moral injunctions we are supposed to carry out in our personal as well as social life.

Thus we find many such commands which are meant to form our character and personality, continuously pouring in on us from many quarters, and all of them put on the mantle of authority of different degrees of importance, e. g., from our parents and elders, from our educational and religious authorities, from the laws of the land and the professions we follow. These generally embody the current, accepted, socio-religious practices which are prevalent in any society. All of them go on telling us how to act, what to say, and even what to think, and what not to think! Now, the child at first obeys these rules because they are accompanied by promise of rewards or threat of punishments. Later, by force of habit or otherwise, he accepts them as his own, and leads his life in conformity with them. This pattern of behaviour and belief may be called traditional and authoritarian morality.

The main purpose of authoritarian morality is to enable men to live together in society, in spite of their egoistical tendencies; to maintain and uphold the brotherhood of the particular creed, caste or social or religious system to which they belong, and from which the particular moral codes proceed. To achieve this purpose, the traditional moralists lay down sets of rules which should be unquestioningly obeyed. Hence the highest virtue of traditional morality would be to follow these rules unquestioningly and the greatest crime and sin would be to disobey them. So, broadly speaking, right action is that which the social or religious customs and opinion approve; while wrong action is one which is socially disapproved. The main sanction behind such rules lies in the fact that they are attributed to some authority, whether divine or traditional, or the authority of the State—the authority wills you to do such and such. Hence they call for and are able to command complete and unquestioning allegiance on the part of the individual.

Since such rules come to us from some authority which is supposed to be higher and superior to us—as authorities are apt to regard themselves,—they gradually come to possess a superhuman sanction or a kind of dogmatic command. They are supposed to be known to us by intuition or divine revelation and are given out as having a universal validity, i. e., in principle they are morally binding on all men and at all times. Those who do not obey them are condemned as wrong or immoral or heretical. Secondly, these rules have an imperative character and carry with them a compulsive sense of obedience. Transgression of these rules arouses moral disapproval in others, and often a sense of shame and guilt in oneself. Lastly, till the critical sense is awakened or defiance aroused, they are taken to be fixed, unchangeable and absolute. They can neither be questioned, nor doubted, nor altered.

So the role that the traditional morality has played in our life has been very ambitious, namely, the guidance and shaping and ruling of the whole life of the individual. It had a powerful hold in Europe till comparatively recently, and still dominates the life and thinking of people in our own country. But the age of enlightenment spread in Europe in the 16th century; and it was marked for the sciences and for an emphasis on the use of the scientific method, which is an empirical method for discovering truth in all spheres. Such important problems as the individual and social conduct, human character and personality, could not escape its fold. The inquiring mind of man considered it necessary to probe into our current moral notions by the application of the scientific empirical method—which consists in testing all the acclaimed knowledge of truth by the evidence of the facts of experience, by employing certain rationally accepted criteria. It accepts nothing as the truth which comes to us on insufficient evidence, or blind faith, or on dogmatic authority, but inquires systematically into all

the concepts, theories, assertions and claims to the custody of truth. This questioning, doubting, wondering searching attitude towards the dogmatic systems of knowledge may be regarded as a characteristic feature of the scientific spirit.

It would be obvious that, when this method is applied to the traditional moral notions, it objects to the very fundamentals of traditional faith, namely, the acceptance of moral rules as universal, imperative and unchangeable, based simply on faith in some dogmatic authority. Hence, in its characteristic way, it questions the validity of its basic tenets. Are any moral codes universal? Are they known by intuition? Are they unchangeable? Is the moral sense innate? Are its dictates superhuman? Further, what are the assumptions behind such a system of morality? Are they such as to justify its authority, demanding implicit obedience from the individual? And, finally, do they succeed in securing the highest good for the individual and society?

Certain scientific studies of man and society have inquired into the structure of our current morals and uncovered what has been called the "nonsense" muddled in them. Anthropology, psychology, social history, ethnology and the theory of evolution, all dealing with moral questions in ways relevant to their particular fields, bring certain important and illuminating facts and theories to our notice. These lead us irresistibly to conclude that the claim of traditional morality as revealed by a higher authority are invalid. Moreover, its rules are found to be neither universal, nor intuitive and imperative in character. They are neither permanent nor fixed, but have been replaced whenever changes in the larger canvas of life demanded it. Let us first see what light anthropology has to throw on them.

Anthropological sciences, in making a study of the primitive societies, have collected important factual data

concerning human morals which may be described as recording its starting discovery of the diversity of morals, namely, that moral codes differ enormously in different ages and societies, in different states and religions, in different economical and geographical conditions, as well as at different levels of intellectual development and moral insight, of experience and maturity. From such facts, the conclusion has been drawn that there are no universal, absolute moral principles, but only what is technically known as ethical relativity, which means that ethical codes are relative to the age and society to which an individual belongs. Morality started when men learnt the advantage of living in groups. Then whatever strengthened group solidarity was good and, to achieve this purpose, men's egoistical tendencies were checked by an elaborate taboo morality. Now the rules of taboo morality differ greatly from our present moral laws. For example, the idea of the killing of the infants, the old and the sick, which arouses moral horror in us, was a common practice in some of the primitive societies. For us, eating the human flesh is almost inconceivable, but in the primitive society it was one's painful moral duty to eat the head of one's enemy and offer human sacrifices. Otherwise, it was believed, the sun will not shine. Similarly, other social customs differed enormously. For example, incest, now absolutely forbidden, was the correct form of marriage among ancient Egyptian royalty. Certain primitive tribes had common wives. In short, anything adding to the strength of one's own group was hailed as good.

As the knowledge regarding laws of nature increased, and the hold of taboos on men's mind relaxed, this superstitious taboo morality, to some extent, passed into customary morality, though it still retained some traces of its superstitious origin. Certain practices and customs which were found to be of advantage to the group (as well as some superstitions) came to be labelled as

moral laws, and to secure adherence to them, were attributed to some higher authority, first to gods and goddesses, and then, as the monotheistic religions arose, to one God. These religions were meant to be universalistic in outlook, i e., they aimed at bringing the whole humanity together, under a single set of laws, but in actual practice their brotherhood came to be confined only to their believers and followers. So, in effect, these have become sectarian in nature, and their moral injunctions are more often distorted to keep the differences between man and man alive instead of eradicating them.

It is not in the historical perspective only but in the contemporary world also that moral injunctions differ a great deal in different societies and situations. Here are a few sobering instances. Killing a human being is a cardinal sin. Killing a murderer is a demand of justice and killing hundreds of thousands of men in war is one's patriotic duty. Lying, cheating, dishonesty are immoral acts, but for a spy, they are sparkling virtues. In Christianity polygamy is a sin and crime. In Catholicism and Hinduism divorce does not exist, but both are permissible for Muslims. In many religious creeds, marrying outside your religion is forbidden, but according to civil laws you can marry any one who is willing to marry you. For some people birth control is a moral and social duty, for others it is as great a sin as taking human life. Then the laws governing relations between the two sexes are different in different parts of the world. In the West men and women mix freely, work, and go out together, can marry of their own choice, but in the East many of these things are considered immoral. Similar differences of moral outlook are found in more personal matters, e. g., eating pork is a sin for Muslims, but allowed by Christianity. Eating beef is a sin for Hindus but permissible for Muslims. Moreover the place given to the enjoyment and meaning of enjoyment in life are different in different

societies. Practice and appreciation of certain creative arts, such as music and dance, are regarded among the noblest activities of the human mind in some societies, while in others they are generally frowned upon as immoral. Even within the same society different ethical codes prevail. There is ruling class ethics, and working class ethics, ethics of the oppressed and the ethics of the ambitious, ethics of salvation and of perfection of self—each dictating codes of behaviour which would serve their own ends and may sometimes contradict the others. This shows that ethics is not an entity, or a set and universal code of behaviour, but a loose term to cover a variety of beliefs and codes.

The conclusion that we can draw from the facts disclosed by the anthropological studies and from the comparative knowledge of different contemporary moral codes is, that the universality claimed for traditional rules does not exist. Such a study if carried on disinterestedly (particularly if it is backed by some strong personal experience—some shock, or want, or failures of one's accepted rules to meet intense personal situations), is likely to create in the student a state of moral bewilderment and even scepticism. He would be forced into asking and searching—'what is the truth?'—but this need not alarm us. For this question is the first step towards the discovery of truth for one's self, something which would be inconceivable as long as one is confined within the safety and certitude of traditional morality.

We have seen that the purpose of traditional, authoritarian morality is to enable men to live in society by making them conform to its moral codes which command unquestioned obedience. Let us now try to understand the underlying assumptions on which it raises the super-structure of its codes and injunctions, and which are supposed to justify its dogmatic

authority. These assumptions are based on a certain view of the nature of man. When we say "so and so is human", we can use this phrase in two entirely different senses, corresponding to two different elements in human nature. We can either refer to the limitations and finiteness of man—his weaknesses, his base desires and blind passion, his egoistical and aggressive tendencies. In this sense, the statement that he is "human" is an apologetic acknowledgement of the reality of his lower self. Or, we may wish to convey that to be human is to be the heir and inheritor of the highest and noblest aspirations of the universe, and thereby refer to his potentialities and promise, his nobility and greatness, to the creative energy and intellectual ardour which are potentially stored in the heart and the mind of man; that he is both the master of the universe and the servant of humanity. So to call him "human" in this sense is a tribute to the divine spark in man, his soul, by which I mean the finest and noblest aspect of his being which distinguishes him from the rest of creation.

The authoritarian ethics, if carefully analysed, appears to conceive of human nature in its limitations—that man is weak and sinful, that he has an inherent tendency of evil, of aggression and infliction of pain on others. Such a concept of man was possibly unavoidable in the beginning of human history, as morality starts with checking of the instincts of savages, who exhibit only their so-called lower nature, that is, their instinctive selves, in blindly seeking satisfaction for their impulsive needs. Traditional moralists pronounced this natural, instinctive self of man as the evil inherent in him. So obviously, in order to make social life tolerable, man's alleged "evil nature" had to be suppressed. He himself was regarded as weak and incapable of overcoming it. It follows that he needs certain rules and laws for guidance from some acceptable authority;

and submission to it is meant to suppress his evil, assertive, uncontrollable nature. Thus authoritarian morality is based on repression of human instincts. Without knowing this metaphysical view of the nature of man as the ground and justification of authoritarian morality and its logical corollaries, ordinary man accepts it because it serves to repress the anti-social tendencies in him by the fear of punishment in this life or in the life hereafter. Undoubtedly, it has rendered this service to mankind at some stages of its development. But it has also caused a great deal of trouble and harm, as it does not go deep enough into human nature, and does not give us a real understanding of the problem, i. e., why man has anti-social and evil tendencies and whether there is some other way out, except repressing them outright and courting all the consequences.

It goes to the credit of psychological sciences, that they have given us a deep and penetrating insight into the total nature of man—not only his weaknesses and limitations, but also his potentialities and aspirations. This would show that authoritarian morality is based on a one-sided and a partial view of human nature which seems to justify the approach of repression. In fact, psychological sciences first show that what is called our moral consciousness grows out of and then leads to repression, and then bring out the damaging effects of repression on human conduct and personality.

Psychologists stress the fact that moral sense in men springs from the dynamic interplay of the mind and the external world. At birth, the psychological life of a child consists only of unconscious, instinctive, impulsive energy, technically known as 'Id', blindly seeking immediate and unconditional satisfaction. With the development of his mental life, he comes into contact with, and becomes conscious of, the external world in the face of his mother who is the source of satisfaction

for all his needs as well as the authority which controls and even thwarts some impulses, and later teaches him other inevitable 'dos' and 'don'ts' of life. This beloved mother now becomes the frustrating, hated authority. These two irreconcilable emotions of the child, viz., love and hate for the mother generate an inevitable conflict, often resulting in rage and hatred and aggressiveness. Normally, the conflict is resolved in favour of love. The child learns to feel the sense of wrong and guilt for such emotions and they are partly banished and partly suppressed into the unconscious. But they remain alive in the unconscious and seek an outlet in some disguised form. To meet their demands, the child develops a modification of the 'Id', a mechanism called the 'ego' which unconsciously attempts to seek as much satisfaction for the impulses of 'Id' as the external world would possibly allow. But once the instinctive flow is checked, he does not know how to act and the Ego is too frail to meet the conflict between the demands of the 'Id' and the hostile world, alone; so he needs and accepts guidance from his parents. In this process, the ego identifies itself with the parents and accepts the rules and commands, initially borrowed, as its own and he begins to command and dictates itself as once the parents dictated it. This is called internalisation of the parental authority and this internalised authority becomes the super-ego which is the fore-runner of man's conscience, or moral consciousness.

It is asserted by psychologists that this process of the development of super-ego is completed unconsciously during our infancy, so consciously we remain unaware of it. In our adult life all that we are conscious of is an imperative, compulsive sense of right and wrong attached to certain actions, feelings and thoughts. This sense, which we call our conscience, was regarded by traditional moralists as intuitive and its dictates possessed some kind of super-human sanction and hence they were beyond

question. The reason was that its origin could not be explained in any way by our conscious experience. Psychologists explain it in terms of the primal conflict of love and hate in the child, the sense of guilt attached to the feeling of hate and consequent repression leading to the development of the ego and the super-ego. It is illustrated by the study of the so-called "morally defective" children. In the critical period of infancy they have no mother or mother-substitute, which means there is no object of strong conflicting emotions. Hence they do not suffer from the inevitable conflict resulting in repression and development of super-ego, hence they lack the moral sense.

If the moral consciousness of man is shown to possess no super-human authority, then traditional morality loses some of its hold. This was the objection against a scientific approach to the moral problems which we started at the very outset, viz., growth of scientific knowledge leads to the weakening of man's moral sense. But now we are at that interesting point when the situation appears to have been reversed. Instead of traditional morality blaming new knowledge for weakening the hold of moral value on man, we find the new knowledge attacking it for repressing the innate tendencies of man and depth psychology showing that this repression is not always for good but has been very harmful. No doubt, to a certain extent, repression is inevitable in infancy: but in authoritarian ethics, aiming at securing social solidarity at any cost, this process of repression continues throughout life. It is not always the repression of anti-social desires but sometimes of the very life energies of man, his creative talents, his bold originality, his curiosity and intellectual love for knowledge. All this is detrimental both to the growth of human personality and to social progress.

Psychology tells us that once a strong desire charged

with emotional energy is born in the human heart, it is like a storm—its energy must somehow be exhausted. The most natural channel for its exhaustion is the satisfaction of the desire. If it does not find any outlet, it turns against the individual and can devastate his mind and personality. But it so happens even in adult life that our external circumstances as well as our conventional moral injunctions necessarily thwart most of our desires, even harmless or good ones, resulting in a great deal of conflict and unhappiness. Since the human mind cannot face a conflict and its paralysing effects indefinitely, the frustrated desire is repressed into the unconscious. Some of its energy is exhausted in the act of repression, but some of it accompanies the desire into the unconscious where it remains alive, and seeks satisfaction in disguised and usually distorted forms.

Such unconscious elements in human psyche, which indirectly influence the behaviour pattern of personality, cannot possibly be ignored by any study which deals with the "ought" of human behaviour. This knowledge completely changes the meaning of, and our attitude towards, many moral concepts like responsibility, sin, punishment, praise, condemnation. It is repeatedly observed that the frustration of strong desires leads to repression and unhappiness. Minds with superior strength are able to canalize their repressed energies into constructive and creative channels. A majority of individuals half solve and half suffer from their conflicts and lead, what I might call, a tolerably unhappy life. But there are many unfortunate persons who cannot come to terms with life. They are torn by the conflicts of their natural desires and passions, by socio-economic pressure and by genetic weaknesses of their personality. Society forces them to conform to its codes and patterns and there are innumerable instances of religious and moral authorities breaking men completely—not only criminals but men of genius, because they could not fit into its mediocre mould. Torn by

their conflict, they often become neurotics and suffer all kinds of personality disorders. These disorders have been discovered by the observation of innumerable cases, by experiments and by the introspective reports of thousands of individuals. Or, such persons turn to desperate measures which are condemned by society as unconventional, immoral, shocking, criminal or sinful, deserving of punishment. Psycho-analytic studies show that most of the so-called criminals and sinners are victims of psycho-social forces rather than wholly responsible for their deeds. They are mentally and emotionally sick who should at least be treated on par with the physically sick: who require not only treatment but our compassion and sympathy. Just as the body requires food, shelter, warmth and exercise, the soul requires love, recognition, honour and self-expression; deprivation can lead to serious physical and mental starvation. Hence knowledge of such unconscious forces has almost revolutionised the legal, medical and general ethical codes in the modern civilized societies.

Another psychological fact relevant to the study of ethics is the realisation that desires are the spontaneous fountain-heads of the conative and creative energies in man, prime mover of all human actions. Any endeavour which is motivated by a strong personal desire has far more chances of success, any ideal which is freely desired will have far more influence, vitality and attraction than the highest ideal or the noblest actions imposed on us. Hence if we wish to promote the free propagation, acceptance and passionate pursuit of any moral in our society, it is an absolutely essential condition that it should be freely, personally and ardently desired. Instead, what actually happens is that the element of desire is deplored by our society because a personal desire is regarded as identical with base and selfish desire, which is immoral and must be crushed. This means that most of us do not realise that many

of our intense personal desires can be very altruistic and noble, e. g., desire for the happiness of others or for the service of mankind or for seeking truth achieving intellectual or artistic excellence. Any system which encourages the trampling of noble human desires ultimately makes for the lowering of the intellectual and emotional capacities of individuals. As for selfish desires, they are either for the basic necessities of life or for some kind of self-realisation and they are apt to be directed into anti-social channels, when either of them is not gratified. In that case the responsibility does not lie on the individual, but on the system which denies basic human rights to men.

So we see that a disinterested scientific study of human psychology attempts, not only to demolish the traditional claims for the higher imperative authority of moral consciousness but also brings to our notice the positive damaging effects of repression adopted by traditional morality to achieve its purpose. Hence the negative conclusion we draw is that traditional morality cannot be accepted as a proper moral guide for the life and conduct of the individual, nor is it conducive to the spirit of our modern age, which is the spirit of free inquiry.

Another scientific study of almost cosmic significance, which has attacked the notion of conventional, fixed unchangeable moral rules, is the general theory of evolution, with its far-reaching implications for human life. This is not the place to go into its details. All that we need to understand is that this theory centres round the concept of change or growth in certain directions, of moving towards higher and more complicated forms of matter, life, and mind. If the essence of evolution is change, if it is the central principle of the whole universe, it is obvious that there is nothing fixed, permanent and absolute. Darwin applied this concept of

nature, matter and life and explained the higher forms in terms of the lower. Biologists apply it to animal life, Botanists to plant life, and some of the modern thinkers bring it into the realm of ethics, sociology and ideas. It is asserted that moral and intellectual ideas are not static and fixed but changing, evolving, growing richer, more complex and more comprehensive. It is a universal principle. Therefore, according to the evolutionists, it is wrong and immoral to stick to any ideas as fixed truth for all ages. Fanaticism of any kind, particularly moral fanaticism which demands unquestioned obedience and claims to give absolute certitude for all times, can have no place in the evolutionary ethics with its concept of growing, changing moral values. So, applying the principle of evolution and taking into account the harmful effects of the repression of human desire (necessarily demanded by authoritarian morality), certain modern thinkers have developed the conception of evolutionary ethics. It centres round the notion of development of individual personality, realisation of his potentialities and promise which would unfold the higher nature of man. I mentioned earlier the most important aspect of his being which the authoritarian morality mostly ignores. I have not the time to elucidate it in detail but would like to add that evolutionary ethics is very much in keeping with the values which the scientific spirit upholds.

Thus a scientific inquiry into our moral concepts, with a view to discovering what truth it has brought us to a negative conclusion about traditional morality, namely, that its laws and rules of conduct are neither universal, nor permanent, nor intuitive and imperative, but differ in different societies and ages with their own psycho-social explanations.

This conclusion was inevitable. How could the modern, the enlightened, the rational mind which is trained in

and brought up on the scientific spirit of inquiry, active search for truth for one's self, fidelity to facts instead of prejudices and dogmas, and which places the highest value on the development of individual personality,—how can such a mind accept rules handed down by some dogmatic authority which declares itself the sole custodian of truth? It is true then, that the traditional morality is challenged by the modern scientific inquiries—the demands of obedience to dogmatic rule by the suppression of human tendencies are not going to appeal to the modern man. What is, therefore, required for the guidance of his life in the sphere of individual development, as well as social advance, are not rules but values.

It would be noted with surprise that so far in this discussion I have hardly mentioned the term "values". This fact is significant. It shows that traditional morality does not essentially talk in terms of values, but rules and laws. Now, the concept of law implies passive acceptance of authority and complete obedience. It is mainly a negative concept, telling us what we should *not* do. Transgression of the law is a moral sin, inevitably resulting in punishment. That is why this concept proves inapplicable to an age of active intellectual inquiry and positive individual development. The concept of value, on the other hand, implies an active appreciation of their worth and their voluntary acceptance and cultivation in our lives and society with the primary object of achieving certain excellences. To assimilate certain values in our lives means the enrichment of the personality of the individual, which cannot be achieved by living a passively moral life under the guidance of set laws which we do not appreciate and sometimes even understand.

I am not really able to understand why leading of the good life, the moral or virtuous life should be looked upon as a burden, an unpleasant duty, a

fearsome task which must be performed willy-nilly, otherwise we should burn in hell. Why cannot the pursuit of a good life, like the pursuit of art itself, spring from a sense of adventure, of personal attainment; an art to be practised with zest and honesty and passionate faith? In this way one can attain one of the greatest possible human excellences. In fact, Aristotle uses the term 'virtue' to mean human excellence. In that sense, failure to lead a virtuous life is not just a 'sin' but something worse - a great waste of the cosmic energy conserved in man. Leading a good life would then be its own reward here and now, a thing of beauty for us and others. All this is implied in the concept of "value", if that is to be taken as the basic ethical concept, instead of law, or rule or duty.

Now, our question is that, since authoritarian morality based on super-natural authority is no longer in a position to guide the life of a modern man, how and from where are we going to draw our values which would make human life worth living? I suggest that we could directly draw some of the fundamental human values from the activity of modern science itself, which would enable us to meet the problems of the modern world. The same process of exploring the truth which undermines the concepts of traditional moral life can and should enable us to discover new moral values.

In order to draw values from modern science, we must first understand what modern science is. It can be viewed in its theoretical, practical and spiritual aspects and all of them are relevant to ethics. On the theoretical side it consists of a body of knowledge in different spheres of human thought which comprises physical and chemical, social and normative sciences. On the practical side, it represents the technical and

material social advance men have achieved; and, on the spiritual side, it is the source of certain great human values.

Now the practical aspect of science which has been responsible for the mastery over the power of nature is important in the life of the ordinary man because of the promise it holds out for a better and happier life for every individual. We do not realize what an unbelievable achievement it is. For the first time in human history we are able to dimly perceive the dream of the Utopia coming true. The achievements of science can now be conceived as a means for the attainment of some of the most important ethical ideals—human happiness and prosperity, based on freedom from suffering and pain, want and woe, drudgery and fear. It has been made possible because the means and the power required for the purpose are now at the disposal of humanity.

But no amount of scientific power can by itself point towards the direction in which we should move, for that is the domain of ethics which holds the vision of human values and ideals and the knowledge of right and wrong. Without this knowledge we would not be able to use the tremendous power of science wisely. For, we can use power in one of the two possible ways: we can use it either for the security and happiness of humanity, or for its veritable annihilation. It is only the vision of good, of some ideal which gives meaning, direction and purpose to the activity of science. I might well sum up the relation in a borrowed phrase from Kant, adapting it to my purpose: *Ethics without science is powerless, and science without ethics is blind.*

If science holds out the promise for human happiness and it can give us certain great values, we must inquire what sort of activity it is.

I have deliberately used the words 'scientific activity,' in order to underline that science is a growing, enriching, creative process, and to avoid the popular misconception that it is a body of static data. It is not a dictionary of facts; it is to look into nature, whether physical or human, with insight, to discover its jealously guarded secrets. It is essentially an imaginative and creative activity like poetry or art. In Physics, Newton's law of gravitation, or Einstein's theory of relativity is not the work of observing and recording only. It is a leap of the imagination to lift oneself from the earth and place one in the centre of the universe to achieve a cosmic vision. Science aims at discovering hidden likenesses and unity and order, among the plethora of scattered and incoherent facts and bringing them under one law. This order in nature is not on display, you cannot point a camera at it. In the deeper sense it has to be created from mere apparent disorder. Truth then in science is ordering the facts and discovering the laws which are condensed around scientific concepts, such as gravitation, mass, energy, evolution, enzymes, games and the unconscious. These concepts are the bold creations of science, the strong invisible skeleton on which it articulates the movements of our visible world. Such concepts arise out of and are tested in our experience and get replaced if the facts of our experience do not verify them. This adherence to facts is the habit of truth. Unless we are absolutely true to facts we cannot hope to seek truth further in science. Let us see how this search for truth leads to the growth of prime human values.

Ethics is fundamentally concerned with human conduct in two directions—the duties or obligations of men which bind them in society, and freedom to act personally which any good society must allow the individual. The real ethical problem arises when it tries to fit together their need for freedom with their need of society. Because the concept of ethics do these two things simul-

taneously, they are both profound and difficult. Science, in its search for truth, shows us how it is possible to solve this difficulty.

The basic condition for the practice of science is cooperation among free men, because a scientist can not work except on the basis of theoretical testimony and practical assistance from his co-workers. This co-operation must be based on mutual faith and trust which in its turn is born out of truthfulness. Hence the fellowship of the scientist can only be held together by the obligation to tell the truth. This is the cement which binds their fellowship together. Then if science is to progress, cooperation should lead to independence in observation and in thoughts. A scientist should be able to see and think for himself. That is why we have learnt to attach the highest value to the bold and the new. Before the Renaissance it was supposed that nothing needs to be learnt except the classics, but now science has bred a love of originality which is the hall mark of independence of thought. Originality is born out of dissent from the accepted doctrines and ideas. All the great new movements in the history of the world have been started by non-conforming men and women. Hence truth, independence of thought, dissent and originality are values of the mind and characteristic features of the modern civilization. Dissent and originality are also the mark of intellectual freedom which is a human value of incalculable significance. So originality and independence are the private, and dissent and freedom are the public needs of the activity of science, in the sense that they are inescapable conditions of its pursuits. It can not achieve its purpose—to explore truth—except through truth, operation of free inquiry, free thoughts, free expression, which are not permissible in a dogmatic society.

Science in a sense grows by the constant tension

between the independence from, and tolerance of, other people's views. Tolerance among scientists must be based on respect and not on mere indifference. Respect as a personal value implies that it is based on the sense and due acknowledgement of another person's worth, which commands our respect, and hence it implies public acknowledgement, justice and due honour. In science one man's work is confronted with that of another and cannot proceed except in an atmosphere of mutual respect, honour and justice. In societies where these values do not exist, science has either to create them or it goes under.

This shows that science is a human progress, and not a mechanism. It is a constant search and research. Even the mistakes and failures of one generation are a challenge to another to go on with the quest. We do not lose respect for a great scientist, eg. Einstein, if the details of his work are doubtful. This is so because science respects the scientist as much or even more than his work, and prizes the integrity of man's intellectual effort and research above discovery. Any man engaged in the process of exploring truth in science earns for himself a dignity more profound than his doctrine. The true scientists seek truth together with dignity and humanity. This sense of human dignity is the cement which holds together the society of equal men, for it grows out of respect and self-respect. That is why the basic values of science are human values. It is because these values grow out of the pursuit of science itself, that scientists can form themselves into a living, stable and incorruptible society. Anyone is free to enter in it, to speak his mind, and to contradict and be contradicted. In cosmology, quantum mechanics, and social sciences, old beliefs are discarded and new theories are advanced. But the society of scientists survives these changes without any revolutions, and still honours men whose beliefs are no longer

held. No one is disgraced or deposed. It is a flexible, single-minded, open and simple society, because it has a directing purpose—to explore the truth. From these basic conditions follow the prime values—freedom, equality, justice, truth, honour, human dignity, respect and also self-respect. These values, which men of science seldom speak of, have shone out of their work, and entered their age and slowly re-shaped the minds of men, brought a new age into existence, viz, the scientific age. Slavery went, indolence vanished, empires crumbled, and men began to ask for the rights of all men and for freedom and justice, respect and dignity.

So when it is asked—"Does science threaten human values?", we cannot answer the question unless we understand what science is, how it progresses, and what it aims at. We have seen that it is a creativity and like all creative activities, it must be pursued in the spirit of tolerance, of justice, of respect and with a sense of human dignity. It is only the *body* of technical science, by which I mean its material power, which threatens us because we are employing it in defiance of its *spirit*. We distort its purpose and abuse its power for annihilation of humanity. But annihilation of man cannot really be prevented by sticking to gunpowder while condemning atomic bombs, but only by the ethics of the scientist, the scholar, and the poet.

In conclusion, we could unhesitatingly say that these are the values which science in its search for truth has evolved and has contributed to the human civilization. I have emphasised them here, partly because of their great significance for our age, and partly because of the common belief that science is concerned only with means and not with ends and purposes. But, as I have endeavoured to show science, as a creative quest for truth, its pursuit itself develops the human values—particularly the values of the mind on which man's

higher life is built Yet I must add, in fairness, that science is not the only avenue to truth. As a student of philosophy, I cannot deny that there may be other sources of the apprehension of truth and reality which are as important and which give us equally significant human values. It is the vision of the creative artist, the poet and the philanthropist, the intuition of the mystics and seers, the speculation of the sages, and philosophers which give us other precious inlets into the heart of reality. In such pursuits, they are transported, beyond good and evil in the ordinary sense, into a realm of feeling and intuition where they do not just see and know but experience the truth with the whole of their being. Their super-rational vision of the truth of the heart and soul, and of the secret bases of personality, though more difficult of grasp, reveals truths as profound as does the vision of the scientist into the realm of nature.

KEATS—THE POET OF SORROW

ISH KUMAR

Keats is said to be the poet of beauty, but more than of beauty, he is the poet of sorrow. Even beauty, which in his youthful out-burst he had declared to be "a joy for ever", made him sad—"beauty, that must die". Beauty, like Thea in *Hyperion* is made more beautiful than beauty's self by sorrow. His very joy was tinged with sorrow :-

"Joy whose hand is ever at his lips
Bidding adieu".

No joy is full until it is sharpened into pain—that is the burden of *The Ode to Melancholy*.

Keats's own life was one of intense grief. Born in an uncongenial home, having lost his father when he was only nine and his mother half a dozen years later, he was brought up by an unsympathetic uncle, who made no effort at all to understand him. He was, much against his taste and desire, put an apprentice to a surgeon. Nothing can be more sickening for a genius than an uncongenial profession. Luckily, he soon gave it up, losing thereby whatever little help he was receiving from his uncle. His first volume of poems was mercilessly attacked; and though Byron was wrong in saying that his life was "snuffed out by an article," there is no doubt that the scathing criticism caused him intense pain. The most savage criticism was mixed with the most vulgar, virulent and vindictive abuse. "It is a better and a wiser thing", wrote *The Blackwood Magazine*, "to be a starved apothecary than a starved poet; so back to the shop, Mr. Keats, back to plasters, pills, and ointment boxes, etc."

His sister, Fanny, was a virtual prisoner and could extend to him no sympathy. One of his brothers left for America; the other died of consumption. Keats was extremely fond of both. He was thus deprived of all love in life and he needed it very badly in his adolescence. The void, however, was soon filled with a hopeless and consuming passion for Fanny Brawne. His poverty and his precarious health combined to make an immediate marriage impossible. Then followed a period of feverish unrest, of alternating moods of wild craving and torturing jealousy which left him utterly broken. As if this consuming passion were not enough, he was soon in the grip of a still more consuming disease.

All this happened in his brief life of twentysix years—a life constantly haunted by the fear of death. He always had “fears that I may cease to be.” He was always afraid that he might die before giving expression to his romantic visions. The spectre of death haunted him constantly. “Life is but a day”, he wrote,

“Life is but a day ;
A fragile dew-drop on its perilous way
From a tree’s summit”.

That is what he wrote in one of his earliest poems, *Sleep and Poetry*. In his maturest odes, the same theme recurs. The art on the *Grecian Urn* is immortal; life is transitory. The melodist in the picture is “for ever new”, whereas human passion

“Leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloy’d,
A burning forehead and a parching tongue”.

The Ode to a Nightingale is a sadder poem. Here the aching heart of the poet longs to fade away with the nightingale into the forest and forget “the weariness, the fever and the fret” of this sad and sorrowful

world. Death is painful; life is still more painful... this life;

"Where youth grows pale and spectre-thin and dies,
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden-eyed despair."

The nightinale is a proverbially sorrowful bird, but surrounded by utter gloom on all sides that the poet is, he feels that even the nighthingale is happy and is

"Pouring forth thy soul abroad
In such an ecstasy"

* * * * *

"Thou wert not born for death, immortal bird".

Even the nightingale is immortal. Man alone is mortal—man with all his beauty and with all his love—

"Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
Or new love pine at them beyond tomorrow".

Everything is devoured by the all-consuming death. Keats himself was being rapidly consumed. Coleridge knew that, when, after a handshake with him, he whispered to a friend nearby, "There is death in that hand". Keats himself knew that, when one day he spat blood. "I know the colour of that blood", he said quietly to Brown, "it is arterial blood; I cannot be deceived in that colour; that drop of blood is my death warrant; I must die." His only consolation now was Fanny Brawne, who nursed him, but soon even that consolation was denied to him. The doctor warned him that another winter in England would certainly prove fatal. He resolved to try Italy. The separation from Fanny proved too much. "I can bear to die", he wrote to Brown, "I cannot bear to leave her. Oh, God! God! God! Everything I have in my trunks that reminds me of her goes through me like a spear.... oh, Brown, I have coals of fire in my breast. It surprises me that the human heart is capable of so much misery".

He endured this misery for another couple of months and on February 23, 1821, at the age of 26 years, he breathed his last in the arms of his loving friend, Severn.

No wonder that to this young poet, looking out into a world which had been so much darkened by sorrow, it seemed that the shadow of doom rested upon everything that was most lovely. For him, the splendour in the grass, the glory in the flower, the radiance of the morning sun, the peerless beauty of a woman's eyes, were all instinct with subtle suggestions of sorrow. "In the very temple of Delight", he says, "veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine".

Keats, like Ghalib, is one of the greatest poets of human sorrow. Keats, like Ghalib, thought that the only release from human misery was death. Ghalib said :—

قید حیات-بہد غم اصل میں دونو ایک ہیں۔
موت سے پہلے آدمی غم سے نجات پائے کیوں۔

And again,

غم ہستی کا ابد کس سے ہو جز مرگ علاج۔
شمع ہر رنگ میں جلتی ہے سحر ہو نے تک

Keats thought that in this life of "misery and heart-break, pain, sickness and oppression", it was "rich to die".

Sorrow ripened Keats. Most art is the product of frustration. It is said that the lips that cannot kiss begin to sing. Sorrow probes deeper into human heart than joy. Sorrow gives more vital experiences. Keats's ideal was to acquire knowledge which comes from "experience gained through personal suffering".

In one of his letters, he wrote, "Until we are sick, we understand not; in fine, as Byron says, 'Knowledge is sorrow'; and I go on to say, Sorrow is wisdom". He had no patience for the easy-going, lighthearted cheerfulness of the optimist. "Look at the Poles", he wrote,

"Look at the Poles and the sands of Africa, whirlpools and volcanoes;—let man exterminate them and I will say that they may arrive at earthly happiness". Again — 'How necessary the world of pains and troubles is to school an intelligence and make it soul'".

And until intelligence was schooled and became soul, thought Keats, no great poetry could be written. In "Hyperion: A Vision", the aspiring poet received the admonition,

"None can usurp this height," returned the shade,
"But those to whom miseries of the world.
Are misery, and will not let them rest".

This misery he calls 'sublime'. Even Appollo, in spite of his recent victory over the Titans is described as weeping:—

"His bright tears
Went trickling down the golden bow he held".

Mnemosyne, the goddess of the Muses, consoles him. She describes the oft-repeated three stages in the development of a poet's life. First, is the poetry of youthful pleasure untainted by human suffering; second, the birth and consciousness of worldly sorrow; and, lastly, the spiritual vision whereby he finds himself immortalised. Shakespeare had passed through all these stages—from Puck to Lear, from Lear to Prospero. Keats did not live long enough to reach the third stage, but he left behind the first stage, the stage of *Endymion*, very early in his career,—as early as *Sleep and Poetry* where he declared, "Yet I must pass them for a nobler life,

"Where I must find the agonies, the strife of human hearts".

Sorrow, Keats thought, created poetry; poetry, in turn, killed sorrow.

"The great end
Of poesy, that it should be a friend
To soothe the cares, and lift the thoughts of men".

SOME ASPECTS OF LIFE AND CULTURE IN MUGHAL INDIA DURING THE SHAH JAHAN PERIOD

N. L. AHMAD

The Shah Jahan period occupies a significant place in the history of Indian culture which goes back to several thousand years. The Dravidians and the Aryans, the Greeks and the Scythians, the Kushans and White Huns, Arabs, Turks and Afgans, and lastly the Mughals and Europeans—all in turn—influenced, some less, some more, our life, thought and art. It will help us to arrive at a proper understanding of our heritage if we make a serious attempt to appreciate these diverse regional, racial, cultural and religious influences.

The Mughal element in our culture is not insignificant. The three Great Mughals—Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan—exercised marked influence on the life and times not only of their contemporaries but also on the succeeding generations coming down to our own day. The importance of this period of approximately 100 years (1556-1658) in our history has not been fully appreciated. Some historians were so obsessed with the later decadent Mughals and their ways that they measured them all by the same common yardstick. Others insisted on comparing the Great Mughals with administrators of the present day and naturally found them wanting. They made no allowance for the enormous physical difficulties of Government in the 16th and 17th centuries and for the absence of the later results of application of science and technology. The Mughals did not have railways, telegraphs, radio communications and aeroplanes to help

them. Nor did they have at their disposal the printing press, the statistical science and a mass of technical information upon every phase of governmental activity. How could they, then, achieve results in administration, social welfare, army organisation and equipment, which were possible in the 19th and 20th centuries? If, on the other hand, you judge them by the standards of their age and compare like with like, Akbar with Elizabeth, Jahangir with James I of England, or Philip III of Spain, and Shah Jahan with Louis XIV of France, which was then the greatest and most civilised country in Europe, and take into account the means with which they worked, then, you would, I think, find that England, Spain and France were not better governed, the peasants not better off than in Hindustan. Nor were the Europeans any better in manners, morals and religious toleration than their contemporaries in this country.

The Shah Jahan period (1628-1658) in our history occupied the last 30 years of the significant century, which began with the accession of Akbar. During these 30 years, Shah Jahan, his Government and the people reaped the advantages, which flowed from the reforms of Akbar and the benign administration of Jahangir. Shah Jahan continued the good work of his father and grandfather in several directions. He endeavoured to secure the happiness and welfare of his people through choice of capable officers and administrators and by close supervision over them and prompt punishment for sloth, incompetence and corruption. In a letter to the young Shah of Iran in 1633, he expounded his conception of sovereignty. According to him, universal sovereignty belonged to God, who for securing public good chose a viceregent to govern his people. The success of the vice-regent's sacred mission lay in his ability to protect life, soul and property of the people from decadence, corruption and injury. He should punish the tyrant according to the degree of crime. The extreme

penalty of death, which was, indeed, reversing the divine order of things, should not be inflicted until after the most careful consideration. In order to have a good Government and sound policy, it was necessary that the vicegerent should be guided by wise counsellors. They must be men of courage and integrity, who may be depended upon for fearless exposition of their views.

To live up to these ideals involved hard work for the Emperor. Tavernier remarked that Shah Jahan governed 'less as a King over his subjects than as a father of a family over his house and children; to such an extent was this the case that, during his reign, the police was so strict in all things, and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads, that there was never any necessity for executing a man for having committed theft'. Manucci thought that 'the lasciviousness of Shah Jahan did not interfere with his care to govern his kingdom most perfectly'.

The importance of the means and modes of communication and transport in social, cultural and military history and in administration cannot be over-emphasized. The Mughal India in the Shah Jahan period lived and worked in the bullock cart age, though the horse played a most important role in the Mughal civilization. He served as the quickest means of communication and transport. Cavalry was the most efficient wing of the Mughal army. Infantry was not only despised by the mounted troopers, but it often served as a source of embarrassment to the Mughal commanders in war. The Mughal Government at Agra or Delhi had to wait for nearly six months to get an answer from the Deccan. It was considered a marvellous feat of organisation and speed when an express courier, Banarasi by name, delivered the news of Jahangir's death on 8th November, 1627, at Bhimbhar in Kashmir, to Shah Jahan at Junnar near Poona in 21 days on 28th November, 1627.

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that a flourishing import trade in horses existed during this period. They were brought into this country from Kabul, Turkestan and Iran and fetched high prices. Some attempts were made to improve the indigenous Indian blood stock by cross-breeding. Horses along with elephants were given and received as valuable gifts. Elephants were used for ceremonial purposes and for parading persons in disgrace, as in the case of the tragic Dara Shikoh before his execution by Aurangzeb. Elephants were considered to be powerful weapons in war, even though their use in battle was proved to be of doubtful value times out of number, beginning with the days of Poras and during this period at the battle of Samugarh. Camels were found useful for transport of materials during war. During the monsoon, when the flat Gangetic plain was inundated and movement on land was difficult, the rivers were often found to be the easiest and quickest means of transport. Here in the Kashmir Valley the boat was the normal means of transport. These available means of communication and transport, slow and time-consuming as they were, circumscribed and determined all spheres of thought and action of the people and the governing class.

I will now proceed to give you a brief review of the art and architecture of the Shah Jahan period. It is, perhaps, advisable to treat of calligraphy and painting first, because several forms and motifs developed by the calligraphist and the painter were later worked out in ornamentation of Mughal buildings. Calligraphy, the art of decorative writing, was regarded by the Mughals as a necessary acquisition for a man of culture. It was the first article in the curriculum of a youth's education. It surely ranked before painting and other fine arts, and that is why we find short notices about the life of well-known calligraphists as a necessary appendix to contemporary history.

Abul Fazl gives an account of the various calligraphical systems, which were in use towards the close of the sixteenth century. The one most favoured during our period was the 'nastalik', or the round Persian character, in which most of the valuable manuscripts were written.

Shah Jahan, in his boyhood, practised calligraphy with success, and there are in the Bodleian Library two remarkable specimens of exercises in his hand at the age of sixteen and twenty.

In the former case there is a quatrain written on a tinted paper sprinkled with gold and ornamented with floral designs in colours and gold. Under the lines are his signature—'Exercise by Khurram (son of) Jahangir Shah, 1016.' At the age of twenty his exercise again consists of a verse of four lines with the signature, 'Writer Khurram (son of) Jahangir Shah, 1020.'

The verse may be translated as follows:

'If thy scent may pass towards a rose garden,
The scent of the rose would be unwelcome to the zephyr.
Walk with that handsome stature in the Garden,
And abstain from doing an act which may transform
a rose into a thorn.'

Some of the noted calligraphists of the time were Mohammed Murad Kashmiri, who enjoyed the honorific title of 'Shirinkalam' (Sweet Pen), Abdul Rashid Aldailmi, commonly known as Aka Rashida, Mir Abdulla Mishkin-kalam (ambergris pen) and his two sons, Mir Salih and Mir Momin. Mir Salih succeeded his brother, Mir Momin, entitled 'Roshan-kalam' (Brilliant Pen) as 'Farman-navis' (Farman Writer) at the Court on the latter's death in 1646. The copy of the second volume of Lahori's *Padshahnama* which was used for the Bibliotheca-Indica edition, is in Mir Salih's hand, and bears the autograph of Shah Jahan. Colonel Lees says, 'It is the finest MS I have ever seen'.

The noted master, Mir Abdulla Mishkin-kalam, has left us two excellent specimens of his art. They are in the Polier Collection at the Bililiotheque Nationale, Paris, and form, curiously enough, the two volumes of Lahori's *Padishah Namah*. Apart from the excellence of writing, they are fine examples of contemporary book production. One of the MSS is 38 by 21 centimetres, and the other 31 by 20, with fifteen lines to the page, each being sprinkled with gold dust and bordered with gold, red and yellow lines.

There is a copy in the Bodleian Library of Abdul Rashid's petition to Shah Jahan requesting the favour of a promotion in rank. The copy was made in imitation of the master's style of writing.

In Archbishop Laud's Album, which is dated 1640, there are some more excellent specimens of calligraphy, though the miniatures are of little merit.

The author of the *Char Chaman Brahman* states that Shah Jahan, during his darbars in the Diwan-i-Khas, daily inspected the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the author's own handwriting, the works of the master painters, and the finest specimens of the art of well-known calligraphists. They were, after they had been approved, deposited in the Imperial Libray. Two calligraphists, Aka Rashida and Mir Salih, held the distinguished office of Superintendent of the Library.

The art of of miniature painting, which reached its zenith under the intelligent patronage of the royal connoisseur, Jahangir, maintained its high level during the Shah Jahan period. Shah Jahan's court scenes are usually painted in rich bright colours, in the grand manner, which gives one a feeling of a certain stiffness and ripeness, and a lack of abandon and spontaneity, which marked the pictures of Jahangir's reign. The

intimate relations, that existed between Jahangir and his court painters, were not continued by his successor. On the other hand, a large number of affluent men of taste and culture patronised the painters and loved to decorate their ceilings and walls with pictures. Unfortunately, a very large number of the original paintings by the master painters have been lost to posterity. Many of the extant specimens are copies of copies of the originals by the indifferent artists of the 18th and the 19th century. The Imperial Library at Delhi, which contained priceless manuscripts, illuminated books, finest specimens of the painters' art and rare antiquities, was finally dispersed in deplorable circumstances during the Mutiny of 1857. Nevertheless, there are rare specimens which, in spite of all the ravages of time, continue to impress us by their masterly delineations and brilliant pigments, fresh and glittering, as if they were executed only yesterday. It is regrettable that the Persian histories of Shah Jahan's reign give no account at all of painters at his court. The artists, who left for posterity unique specimens of considerable historic and artistic value, deserved better treatment. Brown's remark about them is very true: "Undescribed and undefined they stand, a shadowy group in the background of the royal drama in which they took such a note-worthy part, never once stepping into the light. Excepting their handiwork, we possess no way of approach to a knowledge of their life and their studios. Some of the most beautiful specimens of the painter's art even lack the familiar short phrase 'amal' (work of), and we are quite in the dark as to the names of the artists, who executed them."

During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan Mughal painting definitely became an Indian art. The Persian influence, which characterised it during Akbar's reign, mellowed and an exquisite style was evolved which was Indian in character and in spirit.

The Mughal artist, who more often than not was a Hindu, was capable of, and did use his technique in, faithfully representing every phase of life. He depicted in his masterly way both the pomp and pageantry of the magnificent monarch and the simple life of a retired saint in a country cottage surrounded by his half nude disciples sitting on the hard ground.

In this category may be placed the beautiful picture in the Ouseley Collection at the Bodleian. It represents Shah Jahan sitting in the *Jharoka* which is richly inlaid and ornamented. He is dressed in a magnificent attire and is wearing wreaths of pearls interspersed with rubies. Beside him, on the balcony, are standing two princes—Dara is one of them—and a noble, probably Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan, who is resting his hands on a long staff. A rich canopy with a deep fringe of pearls is spread over the seat of the Emperor. Above the canopy is the richly embroidered velvet ceiling cloth bordered with frills. A rich carpet is spread over the floor which is enclosed on the front side with beautiful gold railings. The tall pillars of the Diwan-i-Am add majesty to the whole scene.

Immediately below the Emperor two princes with yawk-tails in their hands are standing on a marble throne. Below the throne on a marble dado are representations of the scales of justice, two sages, one holding the globe and another a sword, and a lion and a cow drinking water from the same stream!

Above the *Jharoka* are the representation of angels in the familiar style of winged figures in the clouds. Below the fringe of the canopy may be seen the lower parts of two painted panels which have been identified as pictures of Jesus and the Virgin.

The nobles are assembled on the floor of the Hall, and among them may be noticed several foreign looking men in Persian dress. The one raising his right hand to the forehead is evidently a Persian Ambassador, and his compliments are being acknowledged by the Emperor who is also shown raising his hand. Behind the nobles and the ambassador there stand the members of his staff holding trays of Persian presents. Outside the railings, on the right, there are three mansabdars, and on the left are a few Persian horses with their grooms.

The picture, which truly depicts the luxury and splendour of Shah Jahan's Court, apparently relates to a darbar scene in the early part of his reign for he himself is represented as one in the prime of life, while the princes also look quite young.

Another darbar group of considerable historical interest is the one by Anupchatar in the British Museum Collection. The drawing is unfinished and is only outlined in black ink. It shows one of the preliminary stages through which a complete miniature had to pass. Its real importance, however, lies in the names written on most of the portraits. We are thus enabled by the courtesy of the artist to see the actual likenesses of some of the leading men of the Empire.

There is another magnificent picture of Shah Jahan's court in the Ouseley Collection in the Bodleian. This is a remarkable specimen of the painter's art. The artist seems to have taken considerable pains in enriching his work with correct and minutest details. Some of the portraits in this picture are exact likenesses of the nobles who were noticed in Anupchatar's painting in the British Museum.

More interesting and intimate than the darbar scenes are the exquisite miniatures, which show the

Emperor sitting in a mood of profound reverence and deep humility before a great saint. The drawing in the British Museum Collection represents Shah Jahan with his sons in the hermitage of the then famous mystic, Mian Mir, Shah Jahan, who is dressed in a quiet style, is raising hands in prayer in common with the pale, ascetic saint grown grey with age. The rest of the party consists of four princes, several scantily clad fakirs sitting on the bare ground, a noble and attendants with flyflaps, one standing behind the Emperor and the other behind the saint. The miniature is not in colours and therefore one can appreciate with delight the extreme delicacy of outline, which is its outstanding merit. The spirit which pervades the picture is characteristically Indian. The ideal simplicity of the saint's life in a quiet corner of the Indian world is successfully depicted by the artist.

Shah Jahan visited Mian Mir at Lahore only twice. Salih's account of the second visit, on December 28, 1634, is a scrupulously correct description of the contemporary picture and lends to it a historical interest all its own. He states that the Emperor attended by his four sons and one or two members of his suit paid a complimentary visit to the renowned saint, who, after a short conversation on spiritual topics, gave him wise counsel, which he took to heart. The interview began and ended with prayers, that is, the recital of the *Fatḥa* (the first *Sura* of The *Koran*).

Another miniature (British Museum MS Add. 1372) with a similar theme has been admired as 'the finest, the most felt, and most complete of these subjects'. In that picture we see Shah Jahan sitting in a respectful and attentive attitude before a discursive Mulla under a thatched roof against the lovely background of the typical Indian rural life. It is quite probable that the picture commemorates one of Shah Jahan's several visits

to Sheikh Balawal, a religious teacher, who was leading a retired life in Lahore. Lahori states in connection with his first visit to the Sheikh that the Emperor on that occasion 'listened to his delightful speech and learned discourse.'

In the Dara Shikoh Album, which was presented 'to his dearest and nearest friend, the lady Nadirah Begam' in 1641-2, and is now in the India Office Collection, there is a fascinating picture styled 'Reading the Koran'. It shows a teacher with two students and a Mulla sitting under a tree. The teacher with a rosary in his hand is evidently addressing his remarks to the one, who has finished his lesson. The other is busy studying The *Koran* with remarkable reverence and devotion. There is another Mulla with his tucked up sleeves, who is making ablutions to be ready for prayers. The whole composition, which faithfully depicts the life of the Mullas and their pupils, is noteworthy for its expression of natural simplicity, beautiful sentiment and sweet harmony.

The art of portraiture and border decoration in our period attained its high excellence during this period. Apart from their artistic qualities, the portraits are perfect character studies of the people, whom they represent. The painter succeeded in disclosing the inner nature of his sitter and the outstanding traits of his character. He made his face the index of his heart. His sitters were not drawn from the royal personages only but from the diverse spheres of life. As Percy Brown says: "The list is unending—princes and priests, courts, courtiers and grooms, musicians and dancing girls, soldiers and mendicants, all sorts and conditions of men and women jostle one another in this remarkable portrait gallery".

Shah Jahan, like his father, seems to have used his portraits for presentation purposes also. On his

concluding peace with the Deccan rulers, Kulb-ul-Mulk specially requested him for a 'shabih' (likeness or portrait), which was sent to him along with other gifts. The picture was in a frame ornamented with pearls and was suspended from a chain also made of pearls.

The decorative border with the arabesque, bird and animal motifs is a distinctive feature of the miniatures of our period. The naturalistic flowering-plant motifs have a special significance in connection with the designs of inlay work in the Taj Mahal and the Delhi Palaces. The Mughal lapidary was perhaps anticipated and inspired by the Indian painter. The latter showed his real art in the masterly handling of the minute details of a half-turned leaf, a half-opened bud or a blossoming flower.

Of exceptional importance is the portrait of Shah Jahan in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Wantage Bequest, 112-1921. I. M.). It was formerly in the Imperial Mughal Collection at Delhi. He is shown in profile standing against the background of blank space with a straight long-sword in hand and a fly-whisk in the other. His features are faithfully depicted in this picture. A tiara richly ornamented with jewels, the wreaths of pearls and rubies, and his robe of transparently superfine muslin, add elegance to a handsome figure.

In the sky above are seen 'two birds of paradise', as if guarding the Emperor against the ravages of time.

There is a suitable couplet written in a very small and beautiful hand on the right and left of the portrait.

The deep outer border of the mount is decorated in fine taste with beautiful drawings of naturalistic flowering-plants. An extraordinary interest is added to

its delicate workmanship when we find that the flowering plant motifs of inlay decoration in the Taj Mahal are very similar to what we see here.

Another portrait of Shah Jahan in the Bodleian (MS. Pers. B. 1., No. 13) is noteworthy for its rich and delicate border decoration in floral and arabesque designs, in colours and gold, on a ground of indigo-blue. The dainty little flowers worked in the various colours show the extreme fineness of the artist's brush.

Of the prominent personalities during our period there are several single-portraits in the various collections. The portrait of Allami Sadulla Khan, the Vizier of Shah Jahan, by Anupchatar, presents perhaps one of the most penetrating studies in character. His prominent nose, thin lips, and penetrating eyes are rendered with such consummate skill that they serve to endow him with that intelligent and discerning personality which a study of his meteoric career suggests. With remarkable success the painter has portrayed in his face the character and the true life-story of his sitter.

Hunhar painted Islam Khan as a distinguished looking man. He was a successful governor and held for some time the high office of Vizier.

The same artist has given us the portrait of Jafar Khan, Mir Bakhshi and the last Vizier of Shah Jahan.

The portrait of Sadik Khan Mir Bakhshi by Govardhan depicts him as a rough and ready soldier.

The portrait of Raja Jai Singh in the Bodleian is remarkable for its utter simplicity. He is a young man wearing a ring in his ear and is shown sitting on a carpet. The name of the artist is not given.

The chief court painters, who served under Shah Jahan and whose work has been noticed here, were Mohammed Abd, Govardhan, Hunhar, Balchand and Anupchatar; the last two were, perhaps, the leading masters of their time.

The artists responsible for the two beautiful works of arts, which I have reproduced elsewhere, remain unidentified.

Manohar was another eminent court painter, who seems to have had the distinction of working under three sovereigns, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. One of his best pictures (I. O. Library, Johnston Album, No. 4), which is described as 'The Parting of Jahangir and Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan)' is dated 1647, which shows that he was working till late in the reign.

Chatarman was another painter, who worked at the Court. His portrait of 'Shaista Khan Amirul Umara' (the title was given by Aurangzeb) would lead us to believe that he was also working in the reign of Shah Jahan's son and successor.

Mohammed Fakirulla Khan was, perhaps, also one of the court painters, but I have not been able to see his work. Brown reproduces the portrait of 'Muhammad Faqirullah Khan, Head Artist at the Court of Shah Jahan', painted in 1950; and writes about it, "But here we have, as the inscription boldly tells us, a representation of the chief government artist in the flesh" Brown, it seems, has misread the inscription, for it clearly reads as 'Portrait of Saiyed Hidayatulla Sadr, work of Dulah'. The artist Dulah painted the portrait of Saiyed Hidayatulla, who was appointed Sadr by Shah Jahan in 1647.

In the architecture of our period there is much that is reminiscent of the contemporary painter's art. The spirit of refinement and delicacy, which pervades

the pictures, finds its manifestation also in architecture. Akbar's edifices display the robust and unsubdued vigour of a great conqueror. He built strong and massive structures, which give the impression that their original purpose was to defy the battering guns of an enemy. When the Mughals under his immediate successors were firmly settled in India, they built for the love of ease, comfort and refinement. The different spirits which guided the two great Mughal builders account for the remarkable change one experiences on passing from a red sandstone palace to a white marble hall in the Fort at Agra. Shah Jahan's choice of white marble as building material and costly jewel work serve to distinguish some of his outstanding buildings. Architecture of this period witnessed indeed the culmination of the Indian Mughal tradition, which lay great store by the laws of proportion and symmetry and the principles of perspective and climax. It was the product of the imagination and idealism of the architects, the scientific and technical knowledge of the engineers and the traditional hereditary skills of masons, craftsmen, lapidaries and inlayers. All these persons professing and practising the several disciplines must have worked in great co-operation and harmony. A considerable number of these persons were, no doubt, Hindus, who had pursued their hereditary vocations through centuries and who were steeped in the traditions of Kanauj, Bindraban, Ajanta, Ellora and Dilwara. No other period in the history of Indian architecture displays a higher degree of delicacy of feeling and refinement of taste.

The Mughal buildings and gardens of this period form an inseparable whole. The buildings would lose much of their charm and attraction without the gardens and vice versa. The Mughals, who were immensely struck with the natural beauty of Kashmir and called it a paradise on earth, found in its landscapes an ideal setting for indulging in full in their love for gardening.

The best known of the Kashmir gardens, namely, the Shalamar, was planned and laid out in its first stage by Shan Jahan in 1620 on the orders of Jahangir. It seems that the site of the present gardens was known as Shalamar (abode of love) and its flowers were a great attraction. Jahangir in his *Memoirs* (Rogers and Beveridge: Vol. II, P. 151) describes this spot and mentions the circumstances in which the foundations of the present gardens were laid. He says: "It (Shalamar) has a pleasant stream, which comes down from the hills and flows into the Dal lake. I bade my son Khurram dam it up and make a waterfall, which it would be a pleasure to behold. This place is one of the sights of Kashmir". Shah Jahan on his first visit in 1634 to Kashmir, after his accession, felt happy at the sight of the garden he had founded and named it Farah Bakhsh, a term which signifies the feeling of delight which the garden offered to the visitor. In a corner towards the north of the original Farah Bakhsh garden, he built a hamam. He also built two pavilions facing the channel of running water, which he called Shah Nahr. Two other apartments and servants' quarters were also added. In the rear of the Farah Bakhsh garden Shah Jahan ordered the laying out of another garden known as Faiz Bakhsh, which included additional pavilions and terraces. Abdul Hamid Lahori states in the *Padshah Namah* (Vol. I, B. P. 26) that apartments in the Farah Bakhsh were used as royal residence and those in the Faiz Bakhsh were used for private audience. In front of the old Farah Bakhsh garden and right on the lake was another garden with a pavilion, which served for public audience.

I will not bother you with the detailed description of these gardens. This can be studied from any of the numerous books on Mughal architecture. What is, however, most noticeable in the Shalamar and other Kashmir gardens is the effective use made of running

waters of the hill streams and natural slopes of the hillside. The landscape architect converted and trained these into channels, cascades and pools of appropriate size and shape, studded them with elegantly shaped fountains at regular intervals and utilised the slopes for building terraces. On these terraces and over or alongside the channels he built pavilions and apartments. Platforms and terrace walks were decorated with flowering plants in beautifully carved stone vases. The parterres in the garden were laid out in the familiar geometrical patterns. The flowering shrubs and fruit trees, chinars and poplars, or for that matter any other trees, had their proper and fixed place in the garden. The delightful anarchy of an English garden is conspicuous by its absence in the Mughal garden.

Bagh-e-Safa was another well known garden in this period. Jahan Ara made several additions and improvements in this garden. Baghe Nishat, built by Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan, is an excellent specimen of landscape gardening. Scott O'Connor in his *Charm of Kashmir* (PP. 57-58) says that 'it has an air of Versailles, as of formal majesty, but more human as Majesty is in the East'. Here I should contradict the apocryphal story (C.M. Villiers Stuart: *Gardens of the Great Mughals*. PP. 168-170) that Shah Jahan stopped water supply to the garden on Asaf Khan's failure to make a gift of it to the Emperor, but that he soon relented. The story is not traceable in any Persian chronicle. On the other hand, Lahori mentions that Shah Jahan very much admired the beauty of this garden when he visited it in 1634. In contrast to the Nishat was the peace and tranquillity of the Baghe Nasim, which was built by Azam Khan in the last years of his life. It is not surprising that in its ruined condition, it should impress Scott O'Connor 'with a touch of Magdalen-deer-park'.

Besides these gardens, Lahori mentions several other Mughal gardens in Kashmir, which were built by the princes and the nobles: Baghe Aishabad, Baghe Noor Afshan built by Nur Jahan, Baghe Shahabad, Baghe Murad, Baghe Afzalabad built by Allami Afzal Khan, Baghe Saif Khan and Baghe Ganga Reshi being some of them.

Kudsi and several other contemporary poets immortalized the beauty of Kashmir and its Mughal gardens in verse. Kudsi wrote:

مرا باغ فرح بخش است منظور
ندارم آرزوے روضہ حور
ز باغ فیض بخش چشم دل بود شاد
ز ایام جوانی میدهد یاد
نشاط عمر در باغ نشاطست

There was an abundance of a large variety of flowers and fruits in the Mughal gardens. The official chronicler, Lahori (Vol. I, B.PP. 26,30), gives bits of interesting information about some of the Kashmir fruits. Shah Aloo (cherry) trees, which were scanty in Jahangir's reign, were plentiful in our period. The fruit was of 'superior quality as compared to that from Kabul'. 'Pears were so juicy and tender that they could not be transported even to Bhimbar' 'A variety of grapes were grown, but they were not sweet due to humidity'. Almonds were in plenty, but pistachios were scarce. Pomegranates were of poor quality. Kashmir also produced a large variety of medicinal herbs and fruits. No other place in the Mughal Empire, which would include the province of Kabul, was known to produce walnuts in greater profusion. Walnut oil was so cheap that it was commonly used for lighting homes throughout the territory of Kashmir.

The foundation stone of the Shalamar gardens was laid some six miles east of the Lahore Fort in July, 1641, on the bank of the Shah Nahr, which had been completed under the supervision of Ali Mardan Khan. It seems that water did not flow smoothly and a new channel had to be made under Mulla Alaul Mulk's supervision. The channel alone cost about three lakhs of rupees. The work on the gardens continued for more than a year under Khalilulla Khan's supervision, and on completion they were opened ceremoniously by the Emperor in October, 1642. The gardens included a Diwane-Khas and several marble pavilions in addition to water channels, cascades and reservoirs. Six lakhs of rupees were spent on them. Shah Jahan gave them the name Faiz Bakhsh O' Farah Bakhsh. The general plan of the gardens is given in Major Cole's monograph, 'Buildings in the Punjab', 1884.

The beauty of these gardens and their running water is said to have inspired a Mughal princess to compose the well known verses:—

اے آبشار نوحہ گر از بہر کیستی
سر درنگون فگندہ ز اندوح کیستی
آیا چہ درد بود کہ چون ما تمام شب
سر را بسنگ مے زدی و میگر یستی

For whom, O Cascade, are you in lament?
In sympathy for whom have you cast down your head?
What kind of pain was it that, like me, you too all
through the night
Were striking your head against the stone and crying?

Shah Jahan did not appreciate Jahangir's indifferent style of building in white marble and, consequently, ordered the removal of several structures of that period at Lahore, Agra and other places. On his first visit to Lahore, in 1634, he directed the local governor, Wazir Khan, to re-build the Diwane-Khas and the Khwab

Gah (the bed chamber) in the Fort. Seven months later on his return to Lahore from a visit to Kashmir they were ready for his reception.

The Taj Mahal enshrines Shah Jahan's love for his young and beautiful wife, Mumtaz Mahal, who died in the prime of her life at Burhanpur in child bed in 1631. Her body was buried temporarily in the Zenabad gardens on the left bank of Tapti, opposite Burhanpur. A few months later the body was removed to Agra, where it was permanently laid to rest on January 8, 1632. The spacious ground, where the mausoleum was built, occupies a splendid situation on the bank of the Yamuna and was purchased from Raja Jai Singh. The work on the foundations of the Taj commenced in January, 1632, and they were sunk down to the level of the water springs. On the second anniversary of Mumtaz Mahal's death a gold screen, weighing 40,000 tolas and worth six lakhs of rupees, was fixed round her grave. It was an excellent specimen of the goldsmith's and enameller's arts. The inscriptions and the arabesque designs on it were in enamel. As the mausoleum neared completion, the gold screen was replaced by a screen of white marble, the construction of which took ten long years and cost 50,000 rupees. The official chronicler states that artisans and craftsmen, unrivalled in their respective professions, were engaged on the building of this monument, which was completed under the supervision of Makramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim in 11 years at an expense of 50 lakhs of rupees. On February 6, 1634, the Emperor solemnized the anniversary of his wife's death in the new buildings. Tavernier says that he 'witnessed the commencement and completion of this great work, on which they have expended twenty-two years, during which twenty thousand workmen worked incessantly'. He states the common view 'that the scaffolding alone cost more than the entire work'.

Neither the official chronicler nor any other contemporay Persian chronicle mentions the names of the architects and the builders of the Taj. Unfortunately, they must remain anonymous. Several small treatises, produced in the 19th century, profess to give the history of the Taj and mention a large number of names of draughtsmen, masons and other craftsmen, who are alleged to have been engaged on the building of the Taj. They also give the names and the weights of the precious and semi-precious stones used in the Taj and the places of their origin. These works are not reliable.

For a general description of the Taj Mahal, I cannot do better than give the exquisite pen-sketch by Bayard Taylor:

Like the Tomb of Ukbur it stands in a large garden, inclosed by a lofty wall of red sandstone, with arched galleries around the interior, and entered by a superb gate-way of sandstone, inlaid with ornaments and inscriptions from the *Koran* in white marble. Outside of this grand portal, however, is a spacious quadrangle of solid masonry with an elegant structure intended as a caravanserai on the opposite side. Whatever may be the fine proportions of these structures and the rich and massive style of their construction. The gate to the garden of the Taj is not so large as that of Ukbur's, but quite as beautiful in design. Passing under the open demi-vault, whose arch hangs high above you, an avenue of dark Italian cypress appears before you. Down its centre sparkles a long row of fountains, each casting up a single slender jet... Down such a visit and over such a foreground rises the Taj.

It is an octagonal building, or rather a square with the corners and each side precisely similar. It stands upon a lofty platform, or pedestal, with a minaret at each corner, and this again is lifted on a vast terrace of solid masonry. An oriental dome swelling out boldly from the base into nearly two-thirds of a sphere, and tapering at the top into a crescent-tipped spire, crowns the edifice, rising

from its centre with four similar, though much smaller, domes at the corners. On each side there is a grand entrance, formed by a single pointed arch, rising nearly to the cornice, and two smaller arches (one placed above the other) on either end. But no word can convey an idea of the exquisite harmony of the different parts, and the grand glorious effect of the whole structure with its attendant minarets... Every part—even the basement, the dome, and the upper galleries of the minarets—is inlaid with ornamental designs in marble of different colours, principally a pale brown, and a bluish violet variety. Great as the dimensions of the Taj are, it is as laboriously finished as one of those Chinese caskets of ivory and ebony, which are now so common in Europe. Bishop Heber truly said:— 'The Pathans designed like Titans and finished like jewellers'. Around all the arches of the portals and the windows—around the cornice and the domes—on the walls, and in the passage, are inlaid chapters of the *Koran*, the letters being exquisitely formed of black mable.....The tombs are sarcophagi of the purest marble, exquisitely inlaid with bloodstone, agate, cornelian, lapis-lazuli, and other precious stones and surrounded with an octagonal screen six feet high, in the open tracery of which lilies, irises and other flowers are interwrought with the most intricate ornamental designs. It is of marble covered with precious stones.

The Taj is the most complete example of the successful application of the laws of proportion and symmetry and of perspective and climax, which I have referred to earlier. Its builders succeeded in giving it a subtle air of repose and an undefinable romantic spell.

The Moti Masjid in the Fort at Agra is a unique work of its kind. In contrast with the rich and elaborate forms of decoration adopted in the other well known buildings, this mosque was built in white marble with no ornamentation at all to disturb its chaste atmosphere of dignity and purity. It was intended to be an ideal house of prayer, where nothing should disturb the worshipper in his devout efforts to seek communion with God. The Mughal architects could be, if they so

wished, as effective with simple forms as with their more elaborate efforts. Shah Jahan ordered the building of this mosque in the twentyfirst year of his reign. It was completed in 1653. Three lakhs of rupees were spent on the building.

The first buildings, which were completed in Agra during Shah Jahan's reign, were the Diwane-Am, the Diwane-Khas, and the marble pavilions and apartments in the Fort. They were ready for occupation by January, 1637. Until early in Shah Jahan's reign a large canopy was spread in front of the raised marble throne. A few months after his accession the canopy was replaced by a wooden structure, which served the purpose of the Diwane-Am. The new Diwane-Am was built of red sand-stone and was painted with white marble plaster. The few marble pavilions, which had been built during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, were pulled down to make room for the new ones.

Let us now turn to Delhi, which is so rich in architecture and whose ruins furnish an epitome of the history of Hindustan. It seems that Shah Jahan could not resist the temptation of falling in line with the tradition set up by earlier kings of building for themselves new capital cities of Delhi. He built the city of Shah-jahanabad, which is the present city of Delhi as distinct from New Delhi. According to the court chronicler, the reasons for founding the new city of Shahjahanabad were the extremes of climate at Agra, the absence of a suitable royal residence between Agra and Lahore, and lastly the Emperor's desire to leave to posterity a remarkable monument of his reign. The new city was planned with the Red Fort and the Jame Masjid as its focal points. It seems that architects, engineers and directors of the state building department debated for a considerable time on a suitable site. Ultimately, the site between Nurgarh and the old city was chosen.

The plan of the Red Fort was finally approved by the Emperor, and the work commenced with the usual ceremonies on the evening of April 28, 1639, when the two master architects, Ahmed and Hamid, marked the foundations in an auspicious hour. The foundation stone was laid thirteen days later.

Expert artisans—stone cutters, lapidaries, inlayers, limners, masons and carpenters—were summoned from all parts of the Empire to work on the buildings. Ghairat Khan and Alavardi Khan first supervised the building operations. Later, Makramat Khan was appointed to the governorship of Delhi in September, 1641, and he was entrusted with the task. It will be remembered that he also supervised the Taj Mahal works at Agra during this period. He was specially suited for directing the decoration of the buildings according to Shah Jahan's tastes, which he had ample opportunities to study in his former capacity as the Mir Saman. The Emperor himself inspected the rising buildings on the Jumna on several occasions, and directed alterations where necessary. The buildings were completed after continuous work of nine years, and were formally opened by the Emperor on April 18, 1648.

The principal buildings in the vast palace fortress were the Bazar-i-musakaf or 'the Vaulted hall', the Nakar Khana, the Bazar and the stables, the Diwane-Am and the Diwane-Khas, the Shah Burj, the Hamam, the Private Apartment and the Hayat Bakhsh Garden.

I have been able to discover the origin of the vaulted hall, which was admired by Fergusson as 'the noblest entrance known to belong to any existing palace'. Lahori, in his account of Shah Jahan's journey to Kabul, mentions that the Emperor passed on May 22, 1646, by a vaulted bazar with an octagonal break in the centre, which had been built after the Persian style by

Ali Mardan Khan. He appreciated the design and sent its plan to Makramat Khan at Delhi with orders for building a similar bazar between the West gate of the Jilau Khana and the Lahore Gate.

The Diwane-Am was a large and splendid building supported by 60 well-designed columns with 27 engrailed arches. It was built of red sandstone, but the pillars and the ceiling were painted white with the marble plaster or 'chunam', and the upper parts were richly covered with gold. In the centre of the back wall of the hall was the recess from which projected the Jharoka of the Diwane-Am, surmounted with an ornamental marble canopy supported by four pillars. The balcony, or throne, was enclosed on three sides by a beautifully designed gold railing, and was richly inlaid with precious stones, 'representing various forms and figures.' The chronicler, Mohammed Waris, does not go into the details of those 'forms and figures', which have served to inspire a lively controversy in the world of art. It seems desirable to describe briefly the panels¹ of inlay work on the back wall of the recess. A sketch in colour made by Ghulam Ali Khan in 1837² shows that there were two rectangular panels on either side of the gilded doors in the centre 'and a rounded head to the wall above these'. The five spaces were enclosed by a narrow border of small reliefs of birds, animals, and floral designs on a dark ground. The interiors of the panels were relieved by similar inlaid designs on larger cross-shaped frames surrounded by floral scrolls and representations of birds

1. They have been variously described. According to some they are 'artistic monstrosities'.—Sir George Birdwood, as quoted by Mr. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century and After* June, 1903, P. 1044.
2. The drawing, which reproduced in Major Cole's Monograph *Delhi* (1884), was made before some of the panels were removed in 1857 by Captain Jones and sold to the Government for £500. They have since been restored to their original place.—*Archaeological Survey of India Report* (190-2-3 p. 26).

on white marble. 'The relief of Orpheus¹ was at the top of all, and touched the apex of the rounded head; it was smaller than the frames of the bird reliefs, and much too small to be a marked feature in the scheme of decoration. It is a very rough piece of work, the lapis lazuli and cornelian of the robes of Italo-Thracian being extremely coarse in execution'. Even to a superficial observer of the drawing it should be clear that the representation of Orpheus formed no part of the general scheme of inlay decoration. If it is removed, the small vacant space would perhaps be more appropriately filled by a small relief of a bird on a dark ground, which is the one thing missing from the scheme of reliefs.

It is not improbable that the panel² was inserted some time after Aurangzeb's death. The latter's scruples regarding the representation of human figures would not permit him to tolerate the exhibition of the figure on the wall. Most probably it was imported into India as a curiosity or "toy" during the period of the later Mughals.

As for the art of inlay work, which is supposed to be taught to the Mughals by the Italians, it may

-
1. Havell, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* (June 1903, pp. 1039-49), expresses himself of opinion that the ornamentation had 'all the appearance of eighteenth century work', and was directed 'by some fourth-rate European artist.' Sir John Marshall (*Archaeological Survey of India Report* 1904-5, p. 3; 1902-3, p. 27) thinks that the 'panels were without doubt made in Italy itself and brought to India all complete', because 'the black marble of their backgrounds and the majority of the inlaid stones are of Italian, and not Indian, provenance.'
 2. The apocryphal story that the figure of Orpheus was the portrait of Austin-de-Bordeaux, who was alleged to be responsible for the inlay decoration of the Jharoka, need not be repeated here.

suffice to say that the technique existed in India long before the Italians discovered it. This view was confirmed by the discovery, early in this century, of inlay work 'in a rougher and earlier stage', in the ruins of 'a magnificent tomb of white marble' at Mandu¹. It was most probably the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud Khilji, the talented ruler of Malwa.

The Diwane-Khas was the most sumptuous apartment of the palace. Precious stones were inlaid on the dado, while the upper part of the wall was painted in designs of flowers and fruit trees. The wall facing the river was ornamented with rich mirror-work. Its gold coated silver was completed at an expense of 9 lakhs of rupees.

The expenses on the new building amounted to 60 lakhs of rupees, out of which 21 lakhs were spent on the fortifications of the fortress, 14 lakhs on the Diwane-Khas, 6 lakhs on the Hayat Bakhsh Garden, 2 lakhs and 50 thousand on the Diwane-Am, 7 lakhs on the royal residential apartments and the remaining sum on the other buildings.

The cathedral mosque of Delhi was the last great work of Shah Jahan's reign. The work on the mosque, which is situated on a rock to the West of the Fort, was commenced on September 26, 1650. On that date Sadulla Khan and Alaul Mulk (also known by his title Fazil Khan) laid the foundation stone. Five thousand men worked daily on the building until its completion in July, 1656. The work of polishing the stones was continued for another three months. The Emperor, in planning the mosque, was inspired by Akbar's lofty monument at Fatehpur Sikri. The intention of building

1. Sir John Marshall in *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1904-5) pp. 1-3. H. Cousens in *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1902-3) pp. 18-20.

a lofty portal was abandoned on the architects' representation that its huge dimensions would make it unstable.

The beautiful pavilions at the Ana Sagar Lake in Ajmer, the construction of which was started in Jahangir's reign, were completed during the first decade of Shah Jahan's reign. Shah Jahan added the halls of audience and the Jharokae-Darshan. The total expenditure on the buildings was three lakhs of rupees; half of this amount was spent during our period.

SAIVISTIC CONCEPTION OF LIBERATION

B. N. PANDIT

Transmigration of soul is the chief common belief of all the sects of Hinduism and the religions sprung out of it. There are only the *Lokayatikas* among the thinkers of India who do not have faith in this fundamental principle of Hinduism¹. All other schools of Indian philosophy, except the *Mimansa Darshanam*, believe that liberation from the cycles of birth and death is the ultimate aim of all life. The early *Mimansakas* believed that the highest aim that can be yielded by the religions of the *Vedas* is the achievement of heaven. The *Nyaya Vaisesika*, the *Sankhya-Yoga*, the idealistic and the nihilistic Buddhism, Jainism, Vaisnavism, *Vedanta* and the *Saivism* all believe in liberation or *Mukti* as the highest goal of life. But the conceptions of *Mukti* according to these schools are quite different from one another.

According to the *Vaisnavas*, the liberated souls are admitted to *Vaikuntha*, the abode of the Lord *Narayana*. There they live as the devotees of the Lord whose constant presence is ever felt as divine bliss by them. There they get some sort of subtle and superior bodies which are just like that of the *Narayana* in appearance and lustre. They attain all the powers of the Lord except his Godhead². Thus they continue to live in an ever blissful state full of every kind of pleasure without any pain in the *Vaikuntha*; and this eternal life in the abode of the Lord is the ultimate release from this worldly life, and this is the liberation of a worldly soul.

Jainism teaches that when a soul becomes purified of all worldly impurities it becomes so light that it ascends the uppermost part of the sky known as *Sidha Silu-Aloka-Akasa*. There it continues to exist in an ever blissful state getting all kind of divine pleasure without any effort or pain; and the achievement of this abode of the perfect beings, like the *Tirthankaras*, is the ultimate aim of all life, and this is the liberation of a soul from bondage³. Both the *Vaikuntha* and *Sidha Sila* can at the most be the highest stages in the domain of the dreaming state, *Swapna Jagat*, in the light of Saivism.

Different stages of dreamless sleep, *Susupti*, can be achieved in the conceptions of *Nyaya-Vaisesika*, *Sankhya-Yoga*, *Buddhism* and *Vedanta* liberation. The *Apavarga* of the *Nyaya-Vaisesika* is a state in which a being does never indulge in any knowing or doing or even desiring⁴. This they call the state of *Apavarga*, which means a state in which a being gives up all inclination towards action and is liberated from all misery⁵. This is the lowest sub-stage of the state of dreamless sleep. The *Kaivalya* of the *Sankhya-Yoga* is a state in which a being becomes extremely indifferent towards the external and the internal world and stands still and absolutely aloof like pure space. This state of absolute aloofness is one of the middle stages of the state of dreamless sleep. The next sub-stage in that state is that of the liberation of the idealistic Buddhists, the *Vijnana Vadnis*. They say that mere constant successions of ideas are egoistically felt and known as souls. They are pure by nature⁶. They get themselves transformed into objective ideas because of impurity of past impressions. But, when these impressions are washed away, they become absolutely pure and serene and calm and consequently do not get transformed into objective ideas. They continue to exist in constant successions of pure ideas and do not

get connected with any mind or body and thus become liberated. The nihilistic Buddhists believe that the successions of those pure and effulgent ideas also become extinct in absolute purity, and what remains is a mere void which is without any positive qualities. This extinction of a being is known as the *Nirvana*⁷ and this is considered as the state of liberation by the Buddhists. The *Vedanta* also teaches nearly the same thing but it believes that the transcendental self does not become extinct. It exists for ever and it witnesses the state of pure idealism and also that of nihilism. The void is not the absolute truth. The absolute truth is that existent entity which witnesses that state of dream-less sleep. This is the highest state of dreamless sleep with a peep into the fourth state, named the *Turiya Dasa*. The attainment of this state is the Vedantic conception of liberation.

The real fourth state can be achieved in the liberation as conceived by the *Saivas*. The *Vedantic* liberation is a sort of tranquillity without any positive charm in it. The *Saivas* say that the highest liberation of the soul is of three types. Some beings realize thoroughly that the universe is but a mere play, a mere drama of their own self, just as all comic and pathetic scenes in a drama result in nothing but a sort of bliss to a person who knows that it is just a play; so the worldly pleasure and pain result in a divine bliss to a person who has that understanding. But this understanding should be as firm as that of one's being such and such a person, or being the son of such and such a person, and so on. Such a person is not affected by any pleasure or pain but enjoys everything blissfully. Then there can be another sort of liberation in which one becomes charged with Godhead and can enjoy His powers to create, to preserve, to absorb, to obscure and to reveal. He becomes, as it were, God in such a fit of the charge of Godhead. These are the two types of liberation

of a soul while he is in some gross or subtle form. But when a person gets absolutely rid of all name and form, he becomes, as it were, one with the absolute God. He then enjoys, for ever, the absolute Godhead which is his real nature. He is the absolute God alone for all time and space. The whole creation is the play of his supreme godhead. He is all bliss just as a piece of salt is all saltish. All pleasure and pain are nothing but his play which is ever going on through his mere will. He is self-sufficient, self-dependent, self-evident and self-conscious. He is all that exists and that does not exist and yet he transcends the whole phenomenal universe. Thus, he is simultaneously enjoying his two aspects of absolute transcendality and absolute universality and all the intermediary aspects within these two extremities. This sort of being is the highest type of liberation that a person can achieve by treading the practical path of Saivism⁸.

There is no particular abode of liberated souls. Mere realization of one's hidden powers is liberation⁹. The absolute truth is that the self is every thing and every thing is the self. The whole universe is the divine play of the self which he plays with his energy¹⁰. Not to know this truth is bondage and to know this truth is liberation¹¹. *Ajnanam* is bondage and *Jnanam* is liberation. *Ajnanam* should not be known as lack of knowledge, but only a little knowledge; and limited knowledge is here meant by a little knowledge. So, to know and to feel that a person is either this gross body or mind or life force or the void, all of which are conditioned by limitations of time and space, is the limited knowledge and this is bondage; and, on the other hand, to know and to feel that he is *Parama Siva*, the absolute God who transcends every thing and pervades every thing, that every thing is in him and he is in every thing, that all this is mere manifestation of his own energy brought about by his supreme will and so on, that is the

unlimited knowledge and that is liberation. *Ajnanam* is a sort of confusion which involves a person as well as his intellect. *Jnanam*, on the other hand, is a sort of revelation which shatters all confusion in a person as well as in his intellect. This is the definition of liberation given in the *Iantraloka* by Abhinavagupta¹². Liberation taught by other schools of philosophy also is liberation, but it is only a partial liberation and the experience of Godhead, which is the real nature of the self, is absolute liberation according to Abhinavagupta. Those souls who rest in some sub-stage of dreamless sleep lie there in liberation for some time and not for ever. The Lord *Sri Kantha* keeps such souls in complete tranquillity for some ages and at the beginning of his fresh day. He again brings them forth into the cycles of birth and death. So their liberation is not the absolute one¹³. Then, the liberation achieved through other *Sastras* leads upto certain *Tattwas*. It is only the Saivistic liberation that leads to *Parama Sivahood*, the ultimate and the absolute truth.¹⁴

FOOTNOTES

- (1) यावज्जीवं सुखं जीवेद् ऋणं कृत्वा घृतं पिवेत् ।
भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः । (*Sarva darsana Sangcaha*)
- (2) एवं गुणाः समानाः स्युर्मुक्तानामीश्वरस्य च ।
सर्वकर्तृत्वमेवैकं तेभ्यो देवे विशिष्यते ॥ (*Panca Ratra Rahyam*)
- (3) गत्वा गत्वा निवर्तन्ते सूर्यचन्द्रादयो ग्रहाः ।
अद्यापि न निवर्तन्ते त्वलोकाकाहामागताः । (*S. D. S.*)
- (4) ननु तस्यामवस्थायां कीदृगात्मावशिष्यते ।
स्वरूपैकप्रतिष्ठानः परित्यक्तोऽखिलैर्गुणैः ॥
ऊर्मिषट्कातिगं रूपं तदस्याहुर्मनीषिणः ।
संसारबन्धनाधीनदुःखक्लेशाद्यदूषितम् ॥ (*Nyaya manjari 1-1.22*)
- (5) अपवर्गस्त्यागमोक्षयोः क्रियावसाने साकल्ये । (*Hema Chandra Kosa*)

- (6) प्रभास्वरमिदं चित्तं प्रकृत्यागन्तवो मलाः ।
तेषामपाये सर्वार्थं तज्ज्योतिरविनश्वरम् ।

Quoted in (*Tantraloka Vol. I, Page 64*)

- (7) दीपो यथा निवृत्तिमभ्युपेतो नैवावनिं गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
दिशं न काञ्चिद् विदिशं न काञ्चित् स्नेहक्षयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम्
एवं कृती निवृत्तिमभ्युपेतो नैवावनिं गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
दिशं न काञ्चिद्विदिशं न काञ्चित् क्लेशक्षयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम् ॥

[सौन्दरानन्दम् — १६ — २८, २९]

- (8) यद्यदिच्छति तत्तज्जानाति करोति च समावेशाभ्यासपरोऽनेनैव
शरीरेण ।

अतत्परस्तु सति देहे जीवन्मुक्तस्तत् पाते परमेश्वर एवेति ॥

(*Iswara Pratyabbijyana Vimarsini IV — 1 - 15*)

- (9) मोक्षस्य नैव किञ्चिद् धामास्ति न चादि गमनमन्यत्र ।
अज्ञान ग्रन्थिभिदा स्वशक्त्यभिव्यक्तता मोक्षः ॥ (*Paramartha*
Sara 60)

- (10) एवं देवोऽनया देव्या नित्यं क्रीडारसोत्सुकः ।

विचित्रान् सृष्टिसंहारान् विधत्ते युगपद्विभुः ॥ (*Bodha Pancu*
Dasika. 6)

- (11) क] यदेतस्यापरिज्ञानं तत् स्वातन्त्र्यं हि वर्णितम् ।

स एव खलु संसारो जड़ानां यो विभीषिका ॥ (*Ibid 11*)

(ख) यत्तत्त्वस्य परिज्ञानं स मोक्षः परमेशिता ।

तत्पूर्णत्वं प्रबुद्धानां जीवन्मुक्तिश्च सा स्मृता ॥ (*Ibid 13*)

- (12) क] इह तावत् समस्तेषु शास्त्रेषु परिगीयते ।

अज्ञानं संसृतेर्हेतुर्ज्ञानं मोक्षैककारणम् ॥ (*T. A. I. — 22*)

(ख) अज्ञानमिति न ज्ञानाभावश्चाति प्रसङ्गतः ।

स हि लोष्टादिकेऽप्यास्ति न च तस्यास्ति संसृतिः । (*Ibid I 25*)

(ग) अतो ज्ञेयस्य तत्त्वस्य सामस्त्येनाप्रथात्मकम् ।

ज्ञानमेव तदज्ञानं शिवसूत्रेषु भाषितम् ॥ (*Ibid I—26*)

(घ) यत्तु ज्ञेय सतत्त्वस्य पूर्णपूर्णप्रथात्मकम् ।

तदुत्तरोत्तरं ज्ञानं तत्तत्संसार शान्तिदम् ॥ *Ibid* (I—32)

(ङ) रागद्यकलुषोऽस्म्यन्तः शून्योऽहं कर्तृतोऽभिमतः ।

इत्थं समासव्यासाभ्यां ज्ञानं मुञ्चति तावतः ॥ (*Ibid* I—33)

(13) सांख्यवेदादि संसिद्धान् श्रीकण्ठस्तदहर्मुटवे ।

सृजत्येव पुनस्तेन न सम्यङ् मुक्तिरीदृशी ॥ (*Agamah*)

(14) क) बुद्धतत्त्वे स्थिता बौद्धाः गुणेष्वप्यार्हताः स्थिताः ।

स्थिता वेदविदः पुंसि त्वव्यक्ते पाञ्च रात्रिकाः ॥ (*Agamah*)

ख) पौरुषं चैव सांख्यानां सुखदुःखादिवर्जितम् ।

षड्विंशकं तु देवेशि योग शास्त्रे परं पदम् ॥

मांसुले कारुके चैव मायातत्त्वं प्रकीर्तितम् ।

व्रते पाशुपते प्रोक्तमैश्वरं परमं पदम् ॥ (*Agamah*)

WESTERN AND EASTERN SPIRITUAL VALUES OF LIFE

DR. R. K. Kaw.

My purpose in this paper is to trace the concept of Spirituality in the West and also to reveal our common ideal of building one-world society (*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*) on the basis of 'a spiritual kinship which is universal among the peoples of mankind.'

Spirituality in the East : Spirituality is the *dharma* (religion) of the spirit (*Atman*) and is the same as 'humanity', the *dharma* of human beings, that is implied in the 'doctrine of man' or the 'doctrine of humanism'. It means that each human individual is to be regarded as a part of the great Divinity or a spark of the divine, viz, human recognition of human dignity in each and every individual. In our cultural heritage, the spiritual equality of man is the corner - stone. This is the notion of spirituality in India today as it was ever since, and is rooted in its scriptures and philosophy. India has regarded the entire humanity as comprising a single family. From time to time, saints and seers of this country have preached and practised what is best and noblest for human beings, as is clear from the following evidence :

- (1) The Vedic seers have repeatedly taught (and prayed for) the unity and unanimity of hearts and tranquillity and peace of mankind.
- (2)] The earliest *Upanisadas* have emphasised the principle of unity and¹ equality of mankind and the need of recognizing that principle for the peaceful existence and welfare of the whole human race. *Isa-vasyopanisad* 6 and 7 says :-

“ He who sees all creatures in himself, himself in all creatures; does not show abhorrence to any one, knowing all living beings to be² one's own self, seeing the unity of mankind, how can there be for him delusion, suffering or sorrow ? ”

(3) The author of the *Gita* enjoins all human values and cardinal³ virtues.

(4) The basic principle of all democracy is implicit in the famous Vedanta texts *Tat tvam asi* (That art thou) and *Jivo brahmaiva naparah* (Atman, the individual being, is Brahman, the Great Divinity). In the Pratyabhijna Philosophy, it is implied in the text :

Svatmaiva sarva jantunam eka eva mahesvarsh (The self of all living beings is one great Lord).⁴ This notion signifies the democratic idea of sovereignty of the human individual, superiority and dignity of man, and the unity and equality of human beings in modern terms.

(5) The ancient Vedantic concept of Atman as Brahman, a being who comprehends in himself all things that are human in knowledge, will and action, lost its meaning of unity and equality of human beings and the divinity or dignity of man in the course of the ages, and in Sankaracharya's time *Brahman* came to be understood as the impersonal being in whom there can be no distinction of this or that, good and evil, the beautiful and its opposite. Thus the conception of Vedanta changed to Absolute Monism. This conception needed re-orientation and so many later schools of thought, like the schools of Ramanuja, Vallabhacharya and Pratyabhijna, emerged to explain the central point of the Indian Philosophy, the integral outlook about Reality and the meaning and purpose of life, that influences and shapes all human activities and behaviour on this earth.

- (6) The Pratyabhijna System, which emerged in Kashmir during the ninth and tenth centuries A. D., believed in recognition of the supreme inheritance of man and 'recognition' of the supreme ends of life. It emphasised the principle of unity and equality of mankind in the such terms as '*Sarva-sivata*' and '*Sarva-samata*' and taught that the supreme inheritance of the human individual lies in his powers of comprehension and action and absolute freedom (*Svatantrya*) in creating a world for himself, a better and happier world for mankind. *Sarva-sivata* in the system implies not only unity and divinity, but also the peace and tranquillity of the whole human race; *Sarva-samata* means equality and fraternity; whereas *Sarva-svatantrya* means liberty for all. The individual is essentially free, freedom is the inner being of the individual. Divinity (*Sivata*) stands for modern 'Dignity' which signifies that the personality of every human individual is sacred. Thus the Pratyabhijna school found a new way (*Navah margah*), a new system, for a better understanding of the Indian Philosophy.
- (7) Buddhism and Jainism, which arose in India in the 5th century B. C., being purely ethical systems, taught the principles of love, altruism and non-violence in such terms as 'maitri' (benevolence towards all creatures), 'karuna' (compassion towards the distressed), 'ahimsa' and indifference towards others' fault (*Titiksa*). Renunciation, which they enjoined, meant 'to live in love with all, to give up the idea of separateness and to work for the whole humanity.' The aspirant says: 'I must bear the burden of all living beings.'
- (8) Sikhism emerged in India in the 15th century A. D. The hall-mark of Sikh catholicism is its doctrine of universal brotherhood and world peace.

- (9) Spirituality of the Middle-East countries is based on the philosophy of Islam (better represented by Sufism) which teaches such great values as love of mankind, sympathy towards one's neighbour, help to the poor and the fear of God. These are the basic Islamic principles of life, nay the essentials of human culture, without which one can neither be a good human being nor a good citizen. These principles which Islam preached, as it spread in India from 8th century A. D., worked as a levelling force with a passion for equality amidst the differences of caste and creed.

Spirituality in the West : The mind of the West has evolved from the Judeo-Christian faith of the ancient Middle East and from the science, philosophy, and art of classical Greece, together with the law of Rome. Spiritualistic and humanistic trends in Western civilization, i. e., in the civilization of Europe and America, are therefore an outgrowth of Christian faith, the doctrine of brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. From this notion sprang the law of neighbourly love, that is to say, love of all men, the idea of the importance of the individual soul in the eyes of God, the idea of righteous behaviour according to a moral law and so on. From ancient Greece and Rome came a secular humanism, the principles of justice and the value of knowledge of Art, Science and Philosophy.

- (1) In the Christian notion of brotherhood of man are rooted all the Western movements which are directed towards the service of man and for the good and benefit of all human beings, and all humanistic and pious acts for the well-being of individual persons and of society. The holy Bible teaches the gospel of love, goodness and forgiveness.⁵

- (2) From the same spiritualistic trends grew the Social Democratic movement, and Philanthropic, Cosmopolitan, Theosophical and Scouts movements and the UNESCO and UN activities.
- (3) The great philosopher-poet of the West, Tennyson, conceived the idea of unity and divinity of human beings in such expressions as, 'Man-in-God is one with God-in-man,' which implies that humanity in God is the same as divinity or spirituality in man. This spiritual thought is the common ground where the West and the East meet.

Spirituality in the world Today : India proclaimed to the world, for the first time in the modern age, the message of *Ahimsa* or non-violence and universal brotherhood and a desire for building One-World Society. (*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*). It is a happy augury that this spiritualistic mission of India is being responded to by the Western peoples and nations in the same spirit. The following teachers of India have emphasised the need of spirituality today :-

- (1) The supremacy of the moral law, the law of truth and love and nonviolence, which originated from India's ancient notions of spirituality, was first taught by Mahatma Gandhi, for the emancipation of humanity.
- (2) Tagore, in his immortal book, 'The Religion of Man', conceived that consciousness of spiritual unity of all human beings is the only remedy for 'such an epidemic of moral perversity, such a universal churning up of jealousy, greed, hatred and mutual suspicion.'

He says, 'This consciousness finds its manifestation in science, philosophy and the arts, in social ethics, in all things that carry their ultimate value in themselves. These are truly spiritual and they should all be consciously co-ordinated in one great religion of Man, representing his ceaseless endeavour to reach the perfect in great thoughts and deeds and dreams, in immortal symbols of art, revealing his aspiration for rising in dignity of being.'

- (3) Sri Aurobindo has also left the same message for the people. He says, 'Equality of the spirit is the sole real equality, oneness which is for ever immanent in all the multiplicities of the universe'⁶.
- (4) Inspiring and thought-provoking is the immortal message of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan to the world:

'.....Within each incarnate soul dwells the god-consciousness which we must seek out and awaken. When mankind awakens to the truth, universal brotherhood will follow,.....One whose life is rooted in the experience of the supreme, spontaneously develops love for all creation. He will be free from hatred for any man..... He will boldly work for a society in which man can be free and fearless.....He will oppose terror and cruelty.....He will give voice to those who have no voice.

".....Let those truths of the spirit sway the minds of men, transform the lives of men. The truths of the spirit are liberality, understanding, freedom.....Let us, therefore, send out.....a message to this groping, uncertain, discontented world: that love and not hatred, that freedom and not fear, that faith and not doubt, have in them the healing of the nations. If we carry out these

principles in our daily life and in our international relations, out of the anguish of the world will be born a new unity of mankind, a unity in which the ideas of the spirit will find safety and security."

All the above-mentioned world teachers and leaders of men have been dreaming of the 'one humanity realizing its perfection through love and mutual self-surrender.' The spiritual insight of man, viz., a 'renaissance of man's spirit' alone will, indeed, stop the present ailment of humanity turning into a 'conflagration of suicide'. The hope of security and welfare of humanity lies (in the words of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan) in "*a recognition of those supreme ends of life to which science, organization, discipline and obedience are to be harnessed.*"

Here is the real basis of East-West understanding.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rg-Vdda :

The Vedic seer prays for the unity and the unanimity of hearts of people in Rg—Veda X. 191. 15 :

समानी वा आकूति समाका हृदयानि वः ।

समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ॥

Trans: May one and the same be your aim and purpose (*Sankalpa*) and be your minds of one accord. United be the thoughts of all, so that all your actions be good and beautiful (i. e. be conducive to the good and benefit of one and all.)

Atharva-Veda :

In *Atharva-Veda* 19, 1, the Vedic seer enunciates his cherished goal and ambition of life :

इदमुच्छेयो ऽवसानमागां शिवे मे दद्यात्पृथिवी अभूतां ।

अमपत्ताः प्रदिशो मे भवन्तु न वै त्वा दिष्मो अभयं नो अस्तु ॥

May we go ahead in the path of tranquillity and peace; May heaven and earth become peaceful for us (me); May there be no enemies for us anywhere; we have no enmity for any person; May we be now fearless.

2. Upanisads :

ॐ पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदं पूर्णात् पूर्णमुदत्ते ।
पूर्णस्य पूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावश्यते ॥

Every individual being is part of the Great Divinity (all humanity is to be regarded as the Great Divinity). This would imply in the words of Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya :

"To serve one is to serve God Himself. The spirit has led to many philanthropic activities by (people)....."

The same Upanisad has condemned exploitation of man by man. It has laid down the motto: "Live and let others live."

ॐ ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किंच जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्य स्विद्धनम् ॥
असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसावृताः ।
तां स्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महनो जनाः ॥

Trans: "As God is the self of all living beings and inmost centre of each and every object, man should not have aggrandisement and should not exploit others, as they are his own self." To exploit or do violence to others is to kill one's own self.

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मन्येवानुपश्यति ।
सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो कं विजुगुप्सते ॥
यस्मिन् सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मैवाभूद्विजानतः ।
तत्र को मोहः कः शोकः एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥

"He who sees all creatures in himself, himself in all creatures; does not show abhorrence to any one; knowing all living beings to be one's own self, seeing the unity of mankind, how can there be for him delusion, suffering or sorrow?"

3. Human Values in Bhagvadgita :

Gita enjoins the followins virtues:—

Non-violence in thought, word and deed (अहिंसा) truthfulness and geniality of speech (सत्यं); absence of anger (अक्रोधः); renunciation of selfish interest (त्यागः); tranquillity of mind (शान्तिः); kindness to all living beings (दया भूतेषु); absence of malice (अद्वेषः); forgiveness (क्षमा); fortitude (धृति); absence of enmity towards others (अद्वेषा सर्वभूतानाम्); to be friendly and compassionate (मैत्रः करुण एव च); free from egoism (निरहंकारः); forgiving by nature (क्षमी); to be not a source of annoyance to the world (यस्मात्त्रोद्धिजते लोकः)... Hypocrisy, arrogance, pride, anger, harshness and ignorance are condemned as demoniacal qualities.

4. एको देवः सर्वभूतेषु गूढः । Svetasvatra Upnisad

5. 1. St Matthew 5, 44:

"But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

2. Matthew 6, 14:

"For if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly father will also forgive you."

6. The divine mission of India for the world is "the spiritualism of life" or "the divinization of humanity". This is the inner significance of India's philosophy. This is how India's soul, says Sri Aurobindo, 'preserved the knowledge that preserves the world'. India has believed in the ultimate realization of the truth—the sovereign rule of the spirit over life and its activities.

ABOUT OURSELVES

Departure of Sardar K. M. Panikkar :

In June last Sardar K. M. Panikkar relinquished the post of Vice-Chancellor here to join the University of Mysore as Vice-Chancellor. During his brief tenure here from May, 1961, to June, 1963, considerable progress was registered in the development and functioning of the University in various ways. The building programme was executed with commendable speed, the salary scales of the teachers were raised, and several new teaching departments were established. Sardar panikkar's departure is a real loss to the University.

The New Vice-Chancellor :

Professor T. M. Advani has taken over as the new Vice-Chancellor of the University. He assumed charge of his office on 23rd July, 1963. Prior to his coming here, Professor Advani was Principal of the Jai Hind College in Bombay. It is of interest to note here that about 50 years ago he started his career at S. P. College, Srinagar, as Professor of English. He was a member of the Senate of the Bombay University for thirty years and its Vice-Chancellor for three years. He was also a member of the Emotional Integration Committee.

We welcome Professor Advani and hope that, with his rich and varied experience, he will further strengthen the functioning of the University.

Chacellor's Tour Abroad :

Sadar-i-Riyasat Dr. Karan Singh, Chancellor of the University, went abroad on a tour of Europe for about a month in July. During his tour he attended also the Commonwealth Universities Conference in London.

Special Meeting of the Senate :

An emergency meeting of the Senate was called by the Vice-Chancellor in Jammu in March, 1963. A special feature of the meeting was the decision to request the Government to appoint a Committee to look into the various problems of the University.

The personnel of this Committee was announced by the Hon'ble Education Minister on behalf of the Government in April, 1963. Dr. Ganguli, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi, was appointed Chairman of the Committee which, in addition to the Chairman, includes the following members:--

1. Shri G. A. Mukhtar, Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir Government.
2. Shri J. L. Kaul, Retired Principal, S. P. College, Srinagar.
3. Rajkumar Shiv Dev Singh, Election Commissioner, Jammu and Kashmir.
4. Shri Ghulam Mohd., Ex-Registrar of Jammu and Kashmir University, at present Principal, Government College, Baramula. (Member--Secretary).

It is learnt that the Committee will submit its report in September, 1963.

Additions to the teaching staff:

The following new members joined the teaching staff of the University:

Department of Hindi :

1. Shri J. N. Tiwari, Professor and Head of the Department.
2. Shri Pran Nath Trisal, Lecturer

Department of Urdu :

1. Shri A. Q. Sarwari, Professor and Head of the Department.

Department of Botany :

1. Dr. Janki Ammal, Honorary Professor.

Department of Physics :

1. Dr. M. K. Machwe, Reader and Head of the Department.
2. Dr. M. L. Narchal, Lecturer.
3. Shri T. R. Verma, Lecturer.

Department of Sanskrit :

Dr. Ved Ghai, Lecturer.

Important Decisions of the University :

The University has decided to hold every examination of the University, except the Matriculation Examination, bi-annually from 1963.

The Post-graduate Department of Sanskrit, which started functioning at the Srinagar campus at the beginning of the last session, was later shifted to Jammu.

Obituary

We record here with the deepest sorrow the untimely demise on July 23, 1963, in the prime of his life and after a brief illness, of Shri Ghulam Mohammad, Director of Physical Education, Jammu and Kashmir University. Shri Ghulam Mohammad, since his college days, had established a great reputation as a sportsman and a gentleman. He was the first incumbent on his post and laboured untiringly throughout the period of his active service to establish the University Department of Physical Education on a sound footing. During his term of office the University found a creditable place on the sports map of India, and the deceased made his mark as a participant in several all-India sports bodies.

We express our heartfelt sympathies with the University and the bereaved family of Shri Ghulam Mohammad at this irreparable loss.

**THE JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.**

DATE LOAND

Class No. _____ **Book No** _____

Vol. _____ **Copy** _____

Accession No. _____

--	--	--	--

Our Contributors

MRS. ZOHRA HUSAINI, Lecturer, Lady Shri Ram College for Women, New Delhi.

SHRI ISH KUMAR M. A., (Panjab), B. A. (Cantab), Reader, Department of English, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Panjab.

SHRI N. L. AHMAD, M. A. (Aligarh), B. Litt (Oxon.), Retired Professor of History and Principal, Elphinstone College, Bombay.

SHRI B. N. Pandit, M. A., M. O. L., B. T., Reader in Sanskrit, Government College, Anantnag, Kashmir.

DR R. K. KAW, M. A., Ph. D., Head of the Department of Indology (General), V. Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, Panjab.

**THE JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.**

DATE LOAND

Class No. _____ **Book No** _____

Vol. _____ **Copy** _____

Accession No. _____

--	--	--

Printed at the Normal Press, Srinagar, Kashmir, India,
and published by Shri S. L. Pandit, Post-graduate Department of English,
Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar (India), on behalf of the
Board of Editors.

The Jammu & Kashmir University Review



A Journal of The University of Jammu and Kashmir

Vol VI.

July, 1963

No. 1

CONTENTS

Editorial :	1
Zohra Husaini : The Relation Between Science and Moral Values	3
Ish Kumar : Keats The Poet of Sorrow	29
N. L. Ahmad : Some Aspects of Life and Culture in Mughal India	35
B. N. Pandit : Saivistic Conception of Liberation	63
Dr. R. K. Kaw : Western and Eastern Spiritual Values of Life	70
About Ourselves :	79

History Education 1912

KASHMIR UNIVERSITY

Iqbal Library

Acc. No. 459997

Dated.....

EDITORIAL BOARD.

MR. S. L. PANDIT, M. A., Post-graduate Department of English
(Chairman).

DR. J. N. BHAN, M. A., PH. D., Post-graduate Department of
Economics.

DR. M. S. WANT, M. A., PH. D. (Leeds), Post-graduate Depart-
ment of English.

MR. M. R. PURI, M. A., M. SC. (London), D. I. C. [London], Post-
graduate Department Mathematics.

459997

It is intended to bring out at least two issues of the journal in a year.

Contributions on literary, social, educational and scientific topics will be welcome from all quarters and should be addressed to Shri S. L. Pandit, Post-graduate Department of English, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar.

Subscriptions, at the rate of Rs. 1.50 (India) per copy, are payable to The Registrar, Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar.

Advertisements about book and journals can be printed at rates which may be ascertained from the Chairman, Board of Editors.

Ver.

THE JAMMU AND KASHMIR UNIVERSITY REVIEW

Vol. VI

July, 1963

No. 1

EDITORIAL

It is now nearly three years since the post-graduate departments of English, Mathematics, Hindi and Urdu started functioning at the campus by occupying the Arts Faculty Block, the first building to be constructed at the site. During these three years commendable progress has been made in the building programme of the University. The departments of Botany, Zoology, and Physics are now housed in their own buildings. The Boys' Hostel started functioning early during the current session, and we have now about 30 students residing there. The administrative block is under construction, and it is expected that, before the year is out, the Registry may be able to shift there.

The picture drawn above is obviously a very encouraging one, and we must record here our appreciation of the great contribution made by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, the out-going Vice-Chancellor, in facilitating the development of the University in all directions during the two years he functioned as administrative and academic head of the University. Nevertheless, we have to admit that we have not so far been able to develop, to a sufficient degree, that academic and cultural atmosphere

which is so essential for the progress and proper functioning of a university. There are a number of reasons for this, and it may not be out of place to mention some of them briefly.

In the first instance, the functioning of the University departments depends upon satisfactory transport arrangements, as the overwhelming majority of the students and practically all the members of the teaching staff at present reside in the city. We have not so far been able to provide adequate transport facilities, and the solution of the problem seems to be in the University undertaking to run its own vehicles. Another serious handicap from which the students and the staff suffer is that the main University Library is still housed at Lal Mandi and thus practically inaccessible to them. The organization of small, though well-stocked, departmental libraries cannot fill the place of the main library. Ultimately, a proper campus atmosphere will be created here when more and more students and teachers are able to reside at the premises. For all these things we may have to wait, and the growth of an educational institution like this University is always a matter of time. But, in all circumstances, we should ever keep in mind our main objectives in so far as the future development of this University is concerned.

While welcoming Shri T. M. Advani on his taking over office as Vice-Chancellor, we may express the hope that, with his considerable experience of educational administration, he will give his earnest thought and attention to all our pressing problems.

THE RELATION BETWEEN SCIENCE AND MORAL VALUES

ZOHRA HUSAINI

I am deeply grateful to the Kashmir University, particularly to its distinguished Vice-Chancellor, Sardar Panikkar, for the honour done to me by their asking me to lecture under the University scheme of extension lectures. Yet I feel embarrassed at this honour. I cannot very well venture to apologise on behalf of the University for the invitation which it has seen fit to extend to me in its wisdom, but would certainly like to apologise on my own behalf. I have been till very recently a student, first in India and later at the Cambridge University, and my sincerest ambition is always to continue to be a student. For kindling this ambition, I feel particularly grateful to the Cambridge University where I learnt something of the thrill of scholastic pursuits, of struggling with ideas and the deep satisfaction that comes from disinterested research. One may not be able to make a significant contribution to knowledge, but in such work one has always the consolation that "it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive and the true success is to labour".

I realise that the subject I have chosen for discussion today is too vast and complex and difficult to be treated with justice in one paper, but my plea for taking it up is that it is as deeply absorbing and interesting as it is complicated and profound; absorbing because it concerns us, human beings, and complicated because human beings represent that most complex life pattern that evolution has brought into being. Moreover,

there are many problems peculiar to our modern age, particularly that of the relationship between science and ethics—to which we, as the heirs as well as the victims of the age, are exposed persistently. They have generated many trends of thinking and feeling which I would like to present before you. But as they cannot be treated adequately in one paper, I can do no more than to introduce them to you, with the painful awareness that it would suffer from the incompleteness and over-generalisation, inevitable with all introductions.

It is a widely held opinion that, as contemporary man has made great scientific and technical progress, he has lost something in this process which is of vital importance. It is argued that man is losing hold on human moral values, or if you prefer, moral values are losing their hold on him. The blame for it mainly goes to what we might call the "new knowledge", which includes various natural and social sciences, modern art and literature, general beliefs and attitudes, in short, the entire modern way of thinking, which is essentially a scientific way of thinking. It is pointed out, even by the man in the street, that the scientific and technical advance has led to the manufacture of atomic weapons which can, not only inflict incalculable misery on humanity, but can bring about mass extinction. This development has resulted in fear, hatred, unrest, mass hysteria and panic and consequently in distorting the human mind and personality. All this is naturally detrimental to the cultivation of human values required for building the good life. Now it is comparatively easier to meet this objection, because it can be shown to be rooted in a narrow view of the nature of science and a failure to understand the larger political, social and economic issues involved. The discussions on the problems regarding the ethics and the science, usually carried on by the moralists, proceed on some such lines: the scientist

should learn what human values are—as if they do not know—and that they should utilise the power of science for humanitarian purposes. No doubt, generally speaking, they should, and I am in complete agreement with such recommendations.

But today I want to approach this problem from a different angle. I am not a scientist, but a student of humanities with a deep belief in the value and future of science. I want to put it to you for consideration that most of our present difficulties in correlating science and human values emerge, neither from a misuse of science only, nor from the ignorance of the scientist about human values, but from the misunderstandings, narrow outlook and dogmatic approach, adopted by most of the moralists, to the moral issues; as well as from their prejudice against the scientific approach to moral questions. For once let us see the beam in your own eyes, instead of pointing at the mote in the scientist's eye. The fact is that we are prejudiced against the scientific approach to moral problems, because we fear that its questioning, doubting attitude would lead to moral scepticism, if not to total moral collapse. We believe that all moral rules must be accepted on faith from some higher authority, hence they are beyond question. To question them is to weaken their hold on our minds. But I cannot believe that a scientific enquiry into the moral concepts would necessarily weaken our moral sense. On the contrary, it can help us in analysing, elucidating and clarifying many complex, inexact and confused notions involved in our current moral rules and practices. We may, in the course of our inquiry, discover that they are inadequate for the needs of modern life and we may be able to discover new principles based on a rational scientific outlook, suited to the demands of the modern age.

Let us then ask what morality usually connotes, and what are some of the ambiguous and dogmatic notions embedded in its current rules. The word 'moral' is a derivation from the Latin 'mores' which means *rule* or *custom*. Similarly, the cognate term 'ethics' is derived from the Greek word 'ethos' meaning 'way of life'. Thus, in its popular and customary usage, morality means certain customary and conventional rules and norms of conduct. They comprise the 'dos' and 'don'ts' of behaviour which consist of a set of injunctions, for the guidance of the practical life of the individual, i. e., how he *ought* to behave towards other individuals in different situations.

From the time the child became conscious of the world and more so, since he learns the use of language, he is confronted with a series of commands from one authority or another—"you should do this" or "you should not do that". Not all such commands are moral in nature. Only those which embody the notions of right and wrong, good and bad, duty and obligation, are to be termed as having a moral basis, because they are concerned with the shaping of our conduct and character. They generally take the form of commands. Love thy neighbour—which means it is good to love your neighbour. Do not lie, which means it is wrong socially and morally to tell lies. Or, "respect your parents", which implies that it is your duty to show respect to them. These are matters of personal conduct, but such moral laws are also meant to guide the social life of the individual. Hence such injunctions as—"It is wrong to marry outside your caste", or, the belief among the orthodox that it is their duty to keep the "untouchables" outside the temples of God, etc., etc.—also are supposed to possess moral authority. One need not multiply instances, as all of us know what kind of moral injunctions we are supposed to carry out in our personal as well as social life.

Thus we find many such commands which are meant to form our character and personality, continuously pouring in on us from many quarters, and all of them put on the mantle of authority of different degrees of importance, e. g., from our parents and elders, from our educational and religious authorities, from the laws of the land and the professions we follow. These generally embody the current, accepted, socio-religious practices which are prevalent in any society. All of them go on telling us how to act, what to say, and even what to think, and what not to think! Now, the child at first obeys these rules because they are accompanied by promise of rewards or threat of punishments. Later, by force of habit or otherwise, he accepts them as his own, and leads his life in conformity with them. This pattern of behaviour and belief may be called traditional and authoritarian morality.

The main purpose of authoritarian morality is to enable men to live together in society, in spite of their egoistical tendencies; to maintain and uphold the brotherhood of the particular creed, caste or social or religious system to which they belong, and from which the particular moral codes proceed. To achieve this purpose, the traditional moralists lay down sets of rules which should be unquestioningly obeyed. Hence the highest virtue of traditional morality would be to follow these rules unquestioningly and the greatest crime and sin would be to disobey them. So, broadly speaking, right action is that which the social or religious customs and opinion approve; while wrong action is one which is socially disapproved. The main sanction behind such rules lies in the fact that they are attributed to some authority, whether divine or traditional, or the authority of the State—the authority wills you to do such and such. Hence they call for and are able to command complete and unquestioning allegiance on the part of the individual.

Since such rules come to us from some authority which is supposed to be higher and superior to us—as authorities are apt to regard themselves,—they gradually come to possess a superhuman sanction or a kind of dogmatic command. They are supposed to be known to us by intuition or divine revelation and are given out as having a universal validity, i. e., in principle they are morally binding on all men and at all times. Those who do not obey them are condemned as wrong or immoral or heretical. Secondly, these rules have an imperative character and carry with them a compulsive sense of obedience. Transgression of these rules arouses moral disapproval in others, and often a sense of shame and guilt in oneself. Lastly, till the critical sense is awakened or defiance aroused, they are taken to be fixed, unchangeable and absolute. They can neither be questioned, nor doubted, nor altered.

So the role that the traditional morality has played in our life has been very ambitious, namely, the guidance and shaping and ruling of the whole life of the individual. It had a powerful hold in Europe till comparatively recently, and still dominates the life and thinking of people in our own country. But the age of enlightenment spread in Europe in the 16th century; and it was marked for the sciences and for an emphasis on the use of the scientific method, which is an empirical method for discovering truth in all spheres. Such important problems as the individual and social conduct, human character and personality, could not escape its fold. The inquiring mind of man considered it necessary to probe into our current moral notions by the application of the scientific empirical method—which consists in testing all the acclaimed knowledge of truth by the evidence of the facts of experience, by employing certain rationally accepted criteria. It accepts nothing as the truth which comes to us on insufficient evidence, or blind faith, or on dogmatic authority, but inquires systematically into all

the concepts, theories, assertions and claims to the custody of truth. This questioning, doubting, wondering searching attitude towards the dogmatic systems of knowledge may be regarded as a characteristic feature of the scientific spirit.

It would be obvious that, when this method is applied to the traditional moral notions, it objects to the very fundamentals of traditional faith, namely, the acceptance of moral rules as universal, imperative and unchangeable, based simply on faith in some dogmatic authority. Hence, in its characteristic way, it questions the validity of its basic tenets. Are any moral codes universal? Are they known by intuition? Are they unchangeable? Is the moral sense innate? Are its dictates superhuman? Further, what are the assumptions behind such a system of morality? Are they such as to justify its authority, demanding implicit obedience from the individual? And, finally, do they succeed in securing the highest good for the individual and society?

Certain scientific studies of man and society have inquired into the structure of our current morals and uncovered what has been called the "nonsense" muddled in them. Anthropology, psychology, social history, ethnology and the theory of evolution, all dealing with moral questions in ways relevant to their particular fields, bring certain important and illuminating facts and theories to our notice. These lead us irresistibly to conclude that the claim of traditional morality as revealed by a higher authority are invalid. Moreover, its rules are found to be neither universal, nor intuitive and imperative in character. They are neither permanent nor fixed, but have been replaced whenever changes in the larger canvas of life demanded it. Let us first see what light anthropology has to throw on them.

Anthropological sciences, in making a study of the primitive societies, have collected important factual data

concerning human morals which may be described as recording its starting discovery of the diversity of morals, namely, that moral codes differ enormously in different ages and societies, in different states and religions, in different economical and geographical conditions, as well as at different levels of intellectual development and moral insight, of experience and maturity. From such facts, the conclusion has been drawn that there are no universal, absolute moral principles, but only what is technically known as ethical relativity, which means that ethical codes are relative to the age and society to which an individual belongs. Morality started when men learnt the advantage of living in groups. Then whatever strengthened group solidarity was good and, to achieve this purpose, men's egoistical tendencies were checked by an elaborate taboo morality. Now the rules of taboo morality differ greatly from our present moral laws. For example, the idea of the killing of the infants, the old and the sick, which arouses moral horror in us, was a common practice in some of the primitive societies. For us, eating the human flesh is almost inconceivable, but in the primitive society it was one's painful moral duty to eat the head of one's enemy and offer human sacrifices. Otherwise, it was believed, the sun will not shine. Similarly, other social customs differed enormously. For example, incest, now absolutely forbidden, was the correct form of marriage among ancient Egyptian royalty. Certain primitive tribes had common wives. In short, anything adding to the strength of one's own group was hailed as good.

As the knowledge regarding laws of nature increased, and the hold of taboos on men's mind relaxed, this superstitious taboo morality, to some extent, passed into customary morality, though it still retained some traces of its superstitious origin. Certain practices and customs which were found to be of advantage to the group (as well as some superstitions) came to be labelled as

moral laws, and to secure adherence to them, were attributed to some higher authority, first to gods and goddesses, and then, as the monotheistic religions arose, to one God. These religions were meant to be universalistic in outlook, i e., they aimed at bringing the whole humanity together, under a single set of laws, but in actual practice their brotherhood came to be confined only to their believers and followers. So, in effect, these have become sectarian in nature, and their moral injunctions are more often distorted to keep the differences between man and man alive instead of eradicating them.

It is not in the historical perspective only but in the contemporary world also that moral injunctions differ a great deal in different societies and situations. Here are a few sobering instances. Killing a human being is a cardinal sin. Killing a murderer is a demand of justice and killing hundreds of thousands of men in war is one's patriotic duty. Lying, cheating, dishonesty are immoral acts, but for a spy, they are sparkling virtues. In Christianity polygamy is a sin and crime. In Catholicism and Hinduism divorce does not exist, but both are permissible for Muslims. In many religious creeds, marrying outside your religion is forbidden, but according to civil laws you can marry any one who is willing to marry you. For some people birth control is a moral and social duty, for others it is as great a sin as taking human life. Then the laws governing relations between the two sexes are different in different parts of the world. In the West men and women mix freely, work, and go out together, can marry of their own choice, but in the East many of these things are considered immoral. Similar differences of moral outlook are found in more personal matters, e. g., eating pork is a sin for Muslims, but allowed by Christianity. Eating beef is a sin for Hindus but permissible for Muslims. Moreover the place given to the enjoyment and meaning of enjoyment in life are different in different

societies. Practice and appreciation of certain creative arts, such as music and dance, are regarded among the noblest activities of the human mind in some societies, while in others they are generally frowned upon as immoral. Even within the same society different ethical codes prevail. There is ruling class ethics, and working class ethics, ethics of the oppressed and the ethics of the ambitious, ethics of salvation and of perfection of self—each dictating codes of behaviour which would serve their own ends and may sometimes contradict the others. This shows that ethics is not an entity, or a set and universal code of behaviour, but a loose term to cover a variety of beliefs and codes.

The conclusion that we can draw from the facts disclosed by the anthropological studies and from the comparative knowledge of different contemporary moral codes is, that the universality claimed for traditional rules does not exist. Such a study if carried on disinterestedly (particularly if it is backed by some strong personal experience—some shock, or want, or failures of one's accepted rules to meet intense personal situations), is likely to create in the student a state of moral bewilderment and even scepticism. He would be forced into asking and searching—'what is the truth?'—but this need not alarm us. For this question is the first step towards the discovery of truth for one's self, something which would be inconceivable as long as one is confined within the safety and certitude of traditional morality.

We have seen that the purpose of traditional, authoritarian morality is to enable men to live in society by making them conform to its moral codes which command unquestioned obedience. Let us now try to understand the underlying assumptions on which it raises the super-structure of its codes and injunctions, and which are supposed to justify its dogmatic

authority. These assumptions are based on a certain view of the nature of man. When we say "so and so is human", we can use this phrase in two entirely different senses, corresponding to two different elements in human nature. We can either refer to the limitations and finiteness of man—his weaknesses, his base desires and blind passion, his egoistical and aggressive tendencies. In this sense, the statement that he is "human" is an apologetic acknowledgement of the reality of his lower self. Or, we may wish to convey that to be human is to be the heir and inheritor of the highest and noblest aspirations of the universe, and thereby refer to his potentialities and promise, his nobility and greatness, to the creative energy and intellectual ardour which are potentially stored in the heart and the mind of man; that he is both the master of the universe and the servant of humanity. So to call him "human" in this sense is a tribute to the divine spark in man, his soul, by which I mean the finest and noblest aspect of his being which distinguishes him from the rest of creation.

The authoritarian ethics, if carefully analysed, appears to conceive of human nature in its limitations—that man is weak and sinful, that he has an inherent tendency of evil, of aggression and infliction of pain on others. Such a concept of man was possibly unavoidable in the beginning of human history, as morality starts with checking of the instincts of savages, who exhibit only their so-called lower nature, that is, their instinctive selves, in blindly seeking satisfaction for their impulsive needs. Traditional moralists pronounced this natural, instinctive self of man as the evil inherent in him. So obviously, in order to make social life tolerable, man's alleged "evil nature" had to be suppressed. He himself was regarded as weak and incapable of overcoming it. It follows that he needs certain rules and laws for guidance from some acceptable authority;

and submission to it is meant to suppress his evil, assertive, uncontrollable nature. Thus authoritarian morality is based on repression of human instincts. Without knowing this metaphysical view of the nature of man as the ground and justification of authoritarian morality and its logical corollaries, ordinary man accepts it because it serves to repress the anti-social tendencies in him by the fear of punishment in this life or in the life hereafter. Undoubtedly, it has rendered this service to mankind at some stages of its development. But it has also caused a great deal of trouble and harm, as it does not go deep enough into human nature, and does not give us a real understanding of the problem, i. e., why man has anti-social and evil tendencies and whether there is some other way out, except repressing them outright and courting all the consequences.

It goes to the credit of psychological sciences, that they have given us a deep and penetrating insight into the total nature of man—not only his weaknesses and limitations, but also his potentialities and aspirations. This would show that authoritarian morality is based on a one-sided and a partial view of human nature which seems to justify the approach of repression. In fact, psychological sciences first show that what is called our moral consciousness grows out of and then leads to repression, and then bring out the damaging effects of repression on human conduct and personality.

Psychologists stress the fact that moral sense in men springs from the dynamic interplay of the mind and the external world. At birth, the psychological life of a child consists only of unconscious, instinctive, impulsive energy, technically known as 'Id', blindly seeking immediate and unconditional satisfaction. With the development of his mental life, he comes into contact with, and becomes conscious of, the external world in the face of his mother who is the source of satisfaction

for all his needs as well as the authority which controls and even thwarts some impulses, and later teaches him other inevitable 'dos' and 'don'ts' of life. This beloved mother now becomes the frustrating, hated authority. These two irreconcilable emotions of the child, viz., love and hate for the mother generate an inevitable conflict, often resulting in rage and hatred and aggressiveness. Normally, the conflict is resolved in favour of love. The child learns to feel the sense of wrong and guilt for such emotions and they are partly banished and partly suppressed into the unconscious. But they remain alive in the unconscious and seek an outlet in some disguised form. To meet their demands, the child develops a modification of the 'Id', a mechanism called the 'ego' which unconsciously attempts to seek as much satisfaction for the impulses of 'Id' as the external world would possibly allow. But once the instinctive flow is checked, he does not know how to act and the Ego is too frail to meet the conflict between the demands of the 'Id' and the hostile world, alone; so he needs and accepts guidance from his parents. In this process, the ego identifies itself with the parents and accepts the rules and commands, initially borrowed, as its own and he begins to command and dictates itself as once the parents dictated it. This is called internalisation of the parental authority and this internalised authority becomes the super-ego which is the fore-runner of man's conscience, or moral consciousness.

It is asserted by psychologists that this process of the development of super-ego is completed unconsciously during our infancy, so consciously we remain unaware of it. In our adult life all that we are conscious of is an imperative, compulsive sense of right and wrong attached to certain actions, feelings and thoughts. This sense, which we call our conscience, was regarded by traditional moralists as intuitive and its dictates possessed some kind of super-human sanction and hence they were beyond

question. The reason was that its origin could not be explained in any way by our conscious experience. Psychologists explain it in terms of the primal conflict of love and hate in the child, the sense of guilt attached to the feeling of hate and consequent repression leading to the development of the ego and the super-ego. It is illustrated by the study of the so-called "morally defective" children. In the critical period of infancy they have no mother or mother-substitute, which means there is no object of strong conflicting emotions. Hence they do not suffer from the inevitable conflict resulting in repression and development of super-ego, hence they lack the moral sense.

If the moral consciousness of man is shown to possess no super-human authority, then traditional morality loses some of its hold. This was the objection against a scientific approach to the moral problems which we started at the very outset, viz., growth of scientific knowledge leads to the weakening of man's moral sense. But now we are at that interesting point when the situation appears to have been reversed. Instead of traditional morality blaming new knowledge for weakening the hold of moral value on man, we find the new knowledge attacking it for repressing the innate tendencies of man and depth psychology showing that this repression is not always for good but has been very harmful. No doubt, to a certain extent, repression is inevitable in infancy: but in authoritarian ethics, aiming at securing social solidarity at any cost, this process of repression continues throughout life. It is not always the repression of anti-social desires but sometimes of the very life energies of man, his creative talents, his bold originality, his curiosity and intellectual love for knowledge. All this is detrimental both to the growth of human personality and to social progress.

Psychology tells us that once a strong desire charged

with emotional energy is born in the human heart, it is like a storm—its energy must somehow be exhausted. The most natural channel for its exhaustion is the satisfaction of the desire. If it does not find any outlet, it turns against the individual and can devastate his mind and personality. But it so happens even in adult life that our external circumstances as well as our conventional moral injunctions necessarily thwart most of our desires, even harmless or good ones, resulting in a great deal of conflict and unhappiness. Since the human mind cannot face a conflict and its paralysing effects indefinitely, the frustrated desire is repressed into the unconscious. Some of its energy is exhausted in the act of repression, but some of it accompanies the desire into the unconscious where it remains alive, and seeks satisfaction in disguised and usually distorted forms.

Such unconscious elements in human psyche, which indirectly influence the behaviour pattern of personality, cannot possibly be ignored by any study which deals with the "ought" of human behaviour. This knowledge completely changes the meaning of, and our attitude towards, many moral concepts like responsibility, sin, punishment, praise, condemnation. It is repeatedly observed that the frustration of strong desires leads to repression and unhappiness. Minds with superior strength are able to canalize their repressed energies into constructive and creative channels. A majority of individuals half solve and half suffer from their conflicts and lead, what I might call, a tolerably unhappy life. But there are many unfortunate persons who cannot come to terms with life. They are torn by the conflicts of their natural desires and passions, by socio-economic pressure and by genetic weaknesses of their personality. Society forces them to conform to its codes and patterns and there are innumerable instances of religious and moral authorities breaking men completely—not only criminals but men of genius, because they could not fit into its mediocre mould. Torn by

their conflict, they often become neurotics and suffer all kinds of personality disorders. These disorders have been discovered by the observation of innumerable cases, by experiments and by the introspective reports of thousands of individuals. Or, such persons turn to desperate measures which are condemned by society as unconventional, immoral, shocking, criminal or sinful, deserving of punishment. Psycho-analytic studies show that most of the so-called criminals and sinners are victims of psycho-social forces rather than wholly responsible for their deeds. They are mentally and emotionally sick who should at least be treated on par with the physically sick: who require not only treatment but our compassion and sympathy. Just as the body requires food, shelter, warmth and exercise, the soul requires love, recognition, honour and self-expression; deprivation can lead to serious physical and mental starvation. Hence knowledge of such unconscious forces has almost revolutionised the legal, medical and general ethical codes in the modern civilized societies.

Another psychological fact relevant to the study of ethics is the realisation that desires are the spontaneous fountain-heads of the conative and creative energies in man, prime mover of all human actions. Any endeavour which is motivated by a strong personal desire has far more chances of success, any ideal which is freely desired will have far more influence, vitality and attraction than the highest ideal or the noblest actions imposed on us. Hence if we wish to promote the free propagation, acceptance and passionate pursuit of any moral in our society, it is an absolutely essential condition that it should be freely, personally and ardently desired. Instead, what actually happens is that the element of desire is deplored by our society because a personal desire is regarded as identical with base and selfish desire, which is immoral and must be crushed. This means that most of us do not realise that many

of our intense personal desires can be very altruistic and noble, e. g., desire for the happiness of others or for the service of mankind or for seeking truth achieving intellectual or artistic excellence. Any system which encourages the trampling of noble human desires ultimately makes for the lowering of the intellectual and emotional capacities of individuals. As for selfish desires, they are either for the basic necessities of life or for some kind of self-realisation and they are apt to be directed into anti-social channels, when either of them is not gratified. In that case the responsibility does not lie on the individual, but on the system which denies basic human rights to men.

So we see that a disinterested scientific study of human psychology attempts, not only to demolish the traditional claims for the higher imperative authority of moral consciousness but also brings to our notice the positive damaging effects of repression adopted by traditional morality to achieve its purpose. Hence the negative conclusion we draw is that traditional morality cannot be accepted as a proper moral guide for the life and conduct of the individual, nor is it conducive to the spirit of our modern age, which is the spirit of free inquiry.

Another scientific study of almost cosmic significance, which has attacked the notion of conventional, fixed unchangeable moral rules, is the general theory of evolution, with its far-reaching implications for human life. This is not the place to go into its details. All that we need to understand is that this theory centres round the concept of change or growth in certain directions, of moving towards higher and more complicated forms of matter, life, and mind. If the essence of evolution is change, if it is the central principle of the whole universe, it is obvious that there is nothing fixed, permanent and absolute. Darwin applied this concept of

nature, matter and life and explained the higher forms in terms of the lower. Biologists apply it to animal life, Botanists to plant life, and some of the modern thinkers bring it into the realm of ethics, sociology and ideas. It is asserted that moral and intellectual ideas are not static and fixed but changing, evolving, growing richer, more complex and more comprehensive. It is a universal principle. Therefore, according to the evolutionists, it is wrong and immoral to stick to any ideas as fixed truth for all ages. Fanaticism of any kind, particularly moral fanaticism which demands unquestioned obedience and claims to give absolute certitude for all times, can have no place in the evolutionary ethics with its concept of growing, changing moral values. So, applying the principle of evolution and taking into account the harmful effects of the repression of human desire (necessarily demanded by authoritarian morality), certain modern thinkers have developed the conception of evolutionary ethics. It centres round the notion of development of individual personality, realisation of his potentialities and promise which would unfold the higher nature of man. I mentioned earlier the most important aspect of his being which the authoritarian morality mostly ignores. I have not the time to elucidate it in detail but would like to add that evolutionary ethics is very much in keeping with the values which the scientific spirit upholds.

Thus a scientific inquiry into our moral concepts, with a view to discovering what truth it has brought us to a negative conclusion about traditional morality, namely, that its laws and rules of conduct are neither universal, nor permanent, nor intuitive and imperative, but differ in different societies and ages with their own psycho-social explanations.

This conclusion was inevitable. How could the modern, the enlightened, the rational mind which is trained in

and brought up on the scientific spirit of inquiry, active search for truth for one's self, fidelity to facts instead of prejudices and dogmas, and which places the highest value on the development of individual personality,—how can such a mind accept rules handed down by some dogmatic authority which declares itself the sole custodian of truth? It is true then, that the traditional morality is challenged by the modern scientific inquiries—the demands of obedience to dogmatic rule by the suppression of human tendencies are not going to appeal to the modern man. What is, therefore, required for the guidance of his life in the sphere of individual development, as well as social advance, are not rules but values.

It would be noted with surprise that so far in this discussion I have hardly mentioned the term "values". This fact is significant. It shows that traditional morality does not essentially talk in terms of values, but rules and laws. Now, the concept of law implies passive acceptance of authority and complete obedience. It is mainly a negative concept, telling us what we should *not* do. Transgression of the law is a moral sin, inevitably resulting in punishment. That is why this concept proves inapplicable to an age of active intellectual inquiry and positive individual development. The concept of value, on the other hand, implies an active appreciation of their worth and their voluntary acceptance and cultivation in our lives and society with the primary object of achieving certain excellences. To assimilate certain values in our lives means the enrichment of the personality of the individual, which cannot be achieved by living a passively moral life under the guidance of set laws which we do not appreciate and sometimes even understand.

I am not really able to understand why leading of the good life, the moral or virtuous life should be looked upon as a burden, an unpleasant duty, a

fearsome task which must be performed willy-nilly, otherwise we should burn in hell. Why cannot the pursuit of a good life, like the pursuit of art itself, spring from a sense of adventure, of personal attainment; an art to be practised with zest and honesty and passionate faith? In this way one can attain one of the greatest possible human excellences. In fact, Aristotle uses the term 'virtue' to mean human excellence. In that sense, failure to lead a virtuous life is not just a 'sin' but something worse - a great waste of the cosmic energy conserved in man. Leading a good life would then be its own reward here and now, a thing of beauty for us and others. All this is implied in the concept of "value", if that is to be taken as the basic ethical concept, instead of law, or rule or duty.

Now, our question is that, since authoritarian morality based on super-natural authority is no longer in a position to guide the life of a modern man, how and from where are we going to draw our values which would make human life worth living? I suggest that we could directly draw some of the fundamental human values from the activity of modern science itself, which would enable us to meet the problems of the modern world. The same process of exploring the truth which undermines the concepts of traditional moral life can and should enable us to discover new moral values.

In order to draw values from modern science, we must first understand what modern science is. It can be viewed in its theoretical, practical and spiritual aspects and all of them are relevant to ethics. On the theoretical side it consists of a body of knowledge in different spheres of human thought which comprises physical and chemical, social and normative sciences. On the practical side, it represents the technical and

material social advance men have achieved; and, on the spiritual side, it is the source of certain great human values.

Now the practical aspect of science which has been responsible for the mastery over the power of nature is important in the life of the ordinary man because of the promise it holds out for a better and happier life for every individual. We do not realize what an unbelievable achievement it is. For the first time in human history we are able to dimly perceive the dream of the Utopia coming true. The achievements of science can now be conceived as a means for the attainment of some of the most important ethical ideals—human happiness and prosperity, based on freedom from suffering and pain, want and woe, drudgery and fear. It has been made possible because the means and the power required for the purpose are now at the disposal of humanity.

But no amount of scientific power can by itself point towards the direction in which we should move, for that is the domain of ethics which holds the vision of human values and ideals and the knowledge of right and wrong. Without this knowledge we would not be able to use the tremendous power of science wisely. For, we can use power in one of the two possible ways: we can use it either for the security and happiness of humanity, or for its veritable annihilation. It is only the vision of good, of some ideal which gives meaning, direction and purpose to the activity of science. I might well sum up the relation in a borrowed phrase from Kant, adapting it to my purpose: *Ethics without science is powerless, and science without ethics is blind.*

If science holds out the promise for human happiness and it can give us certain great values, we must inquire what sort of activity it is.

I have deliberately used the words 'scientific activity,' in order to underline that science is a growing, enriching, creative process, and to avoid the popular misconception that it is a body of static data. It is not a dictionary of facts; it is to look into nature, whether physical or human, with insight, to discover its jealously guarded secrets. It is essentially an imaginative and creative activity like poetry or art. In Physics, Newton's law of gravitation, or Einstein's theory of relativity is not the work of observing and recording only. It is a leap of the imagination to lift oneself from the earth and place one in the centre of the universe to achieve a cosmic vision. Science aims at discovering hidden likenesses and unity and order, among the plethora of scattered and incoherent facts and bringing them under one law. This order in nature is not on display, you cannot point a camera at it. In the deeper sense it has to be created from mere apparent disorder. Truth then in science is ordering the facts and discovering the laws which are condensed around scientific concepts, such as gravitation, mass, energy, evolution, enzymes, games and the unconscious. These concepts are the bold creations of science, the strong invisible skeleton on which it articulates the movements of our visible world. Such concepts arise out of and are tested in our experience and get replaced if the facts of our experience do not verify them. This adherence to facts is the habit of truth. Unless we are absolutely true to facts we cannot hope to seek truth further in science. Let us see how this search for truth leads to the growth of prime human values.

Ethics is fundamentally concerned with human conduct in two directions—the duties or obligations of men which bind them in society, and freedom to act personally which any good society must allow the individual. The real ethical problem arises when it tries to fit together their need for freedom with their need of society. Because the concept of ethics do these two things simul-

taneously, they are both profound and difficult. Science, in its search for truth, shows us how it is possible to solve this difficulty.

The basic condition for the practice of science is cooperation among free men, because a scientist can not work except on the basis of theoretical testimony and practical assistance from his co-workers. This co-operation must be based on mutual faith and trust which in its turn is born out of truthfulness. Hence the fellowship of the scientist can only be held together by the obligation to tell the truth. This is the cement which binds their fellowship together. Then if science is to progress, cooperation should lead to independence in observation and in thoughts. A scientist should be able to see and think for himself. That is why we have learnt to attach the highest value to the bold and the new. Before the Renaissance it was supposed that nothing needs to be learnt except the classics, but now science has bred a love of originality which is the hall mark of independence of thought. Originality is born out of dissent from the accepted doctrines and ideas. All the great new movements in the history of the world have been started by non-conforming men and women. Hence truth, independence of thought, dissent and originality are values of the mind and characteristic features of the modern civilization. Dissent and originality are also the mark of intellectual freedom which is a human value of incalculable significance. So originality and independence are the private, and dissent and freedom are the public needs of the activity of science, in the sense that they are inescapable conditions of its pursuits. It can not achieve its purpose—to explore truth—except through truth, operation of free inquiry, free thoughts, free expression, which are not permissible in a dogmatic society.

Science in a sense grows by the constant tension

between the independence from, and tolerance of, other people's views. Tolerance among scientists must be based on respect and not on mere indifference. Respect as a personal value implies that it is based on the sense and due acknowledgement of another person's worth, which commands our respect, and hence it implies public acknowledgement, justice and due honour. In science one man's work is confronted with that of another and cannot proceed except in an atmosphere of mutual respect, honour and justice. In societies where these values do not exist, science has either to create them or it goes under.

This shows that science is a human progress, and not a mechanism. It is a constant search and research. Even the mistakes and failures of one generation are a challenge to another to go on with the quest. We do not lose respect for a great scientist, eg. Einstein, if the details of his work are doubtful. This is so because science respects the scientist as much or even more than his work, and prizes the integrity of man's intellectual effort and research above discovery. Any man engaged in the process of exploring truth in science earns for himself a dignity more profound than his doctrine. The true scientists seek truth together with dignity and humanity. This sense of human dignity is the cement which holds together the society of equal men, for it grows out of respect and self-respect. That is why the basic values of science are human values. It is because these values grow out of the pursuit of science itself, that scientists can form themselves into a living, stable and incorruptible society. Anyone is free to enter in it, to speak his mind, and to contradict and be contradicted. In cosmology, quantum mechanics, and social sciences, old beliefs are discarded and new theories are advanced. But the society of scientists survives these changes without any revolutions, and still honours men whose beliefs are no longer

held. No one is disgraced or deposed. It is a flexible, single-minded, open and simple society, because it has a directing purpose—to explore the truth. From these basic conditions follow the prime values—freedom, equality, justice, truth, honour, human dignity, respect and also self-respect. These values, which men of science seldom speak of, have shone out of their work, and entered their age and slowly re-shaped the minds of men, brought a new age into existence, viz, the scientific age. Slavery went, indolence vanished, empires crumbled, and men began to ask for the rights of all men and for freedom and justice, respect and dignity.

So when it is asked—"Does science threaten human values?", we cannot answer the question unless we understand what science is, how it progresses, and what it aims at. We have seen that it is a creativity and like all creative activities, it must be pursued in the spirit of tolerance, of justice, of respect and with a sense of human dignity. It is only the *body* of technical science, by which I mean its material power, which threatens us because we are employing it in defiance of its *spirit*. We distort its purpose and abuse its power for annihilation of humanity. But annihilation of man cannot really be prevented by sticking to gunpowder while condemning atomic bombs, but only by the ethics of the scientist, the scholar, and the poet.

In conclusion, we could unhesitatingly say that these are the values which science in its search for truth has evolved and has contributed to the human civilization. I have emphasised them here, partly because of their great significance for our age, and partly because of the common belief that science is concerned only with means and not with ends and purposes. But, as I have endeavoured to show science, as a creative quest for truth, its pursuit itself develops the human values—particularly the values of the mind on which man's

higher life is built Yet I must add, in fairness, that science is not the only avenue to truth. As a student of philosophy, I cannot deny that there may be other sources of the apprehension of truth and reality which are as important and which give us equally significant human values. It is the vision of the creative artist, the poet and the philanthropist, the intuition of the mystics and seers, the speculation of the sages, and philosophers which give us other precious inlets into the heart of reality. In such pursuits, they are transported, beyond good and evil in the ordinary sense, into a realm of feeling and intuition where they do not just see and know but experience the truth with the whole of their being. Their super-rational vision of the truth of the heart and soul, and of the secret bases of personality, though more difficult of grasp, reveals truths as profound as does the vision of the scientist into the realm of nature.

KEATS—THE POET OF SORROW

ISH KUMAR

Keats is said to be the poet of beauty, but more than of beauty, he is the poet of sorrow. Even beauty, which in his youthful out-burst he had declared to be "a joy for ever", made him sad—"beauty, that must die". Beauty, like Thea in *Hyperion* is made more beautiful than beauty's self by sorrow. His very joy was tinged with sorrow :-

"Joy whose hand is ever at his lips
Bidding adieu".

No joy is full until it is sharpened into pain—that is the burden of *The Ode to Melancholy*.

Keats's own life was one of intense grief. Born in an uncongenial home, having lost his father when he was only nine and his mother half a dozen years later, he was brought up by an unsympathetic uncle, who made no effort at all to understand him. He was, much against his taste and desire, put an apprentice to a surgeon. Nothing can be more sickening for a genius than an uncongenial profession. Luckily, he soon gave it up, losing thereby whatever little help he was receiving from his uncle. His first volume of poems was mercilessly attacked; and though Byron was wrong in saying that his life was "snuffed out by an article," there is no doubt that the scathing criticism caused him intense pain. The most savage criticism was mixed with the most vulgar, virulent and vindictive abuse. "It is a better and a wiser thing", wrote *The Blackwood Magazine*, "to be a starved apothecary than a starved poet; so back to the shop, Mr. Keats, back to plasters, pills, and ointment boxes, etc."

His sister, Fanny, was a virtual prisoner and could extend to him no sympathy. One of his brothers left for America; the other died of consumption. Keats was extremely fond of both. He was thus deprived of all love in life and he needed it very badly in his adolescence. The void, however, was soon filled with a hopeless and consuming passion for Fanny Brawne. His poverty and his precarious health combined to make an immediate marriage impossible. Then followed a period of feverish unrest, of alternating moods of wild craving and torturing jealousy which left him utterly broken. As if this consuming passion were not enough, he was soon in the grip of a still more consuming disease.

All this happened in his brief life of twentysix years—a life constantly haunted by the fear of death. He always had "fears that I may cease to be." He was always afraid that he might die before giving expression to his romantic visions. The spectre of death haunted him constantly. "Life is but a day", he wrote,

"Life is but a day ;
A fragile dew-drop on its perilous way
From a tree's summit".

That is what he wrote in one of his earliest poems, *Sleep and Poetry*. In his maturest odes, the same theme recurs. The art on the *Grecian Urn* is immortal; life is transitory. The melodist in the picture is "for ever new", whereas human passion

"Leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloy'd,
A burning forehead and a parching tongue".

The Ode to a Nightingale is a sadder poem. Here the aching heart of the poet longs to fade away with the nightingale into the forest and forget "the weariness, the fever and the fret" of this sad and sorrowful

world. Death is painful; life is still more painful... this life;

"Where youth grows pale and spectre-thin and dies,
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden-eyed despair."

The nightingale is a proverbially sorrowful bird, but surrounded by utter gloom on all sides that the poet is, he feels that even the nightingale is happy and is

"Pouring forth thy soul abroad
In such an ecstasy"

* * * * *

"Thou wert not born for death, immortal bird".

Even the nightingale is immortal. Man alone is mortal—man with all his beauty and with all his love—

"Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
Or new love pine at them beyond tomorrow".

Everything is devoured by the all-consuming death. Keats himself was being rapidly consumed. Coleridge knew that, when, after a handshake with him, he whispered to a friend nearby, "There is death in that hand". Keats himself knew that, when one day he spat blood. "I know the colour of that blood", he said quietly to Brown, "it is arterial blood; I cannot be deceived in that colour; that drop of blood is my death warrant; I must die." His only consolation now was Fanny Brawne, who nursed him, but soon even that consolation was denied to him. The doctor warned him that another winter in England would certainly prove fatal. He resolved to try Italy. The separation from Fanny proved too much. "I can bear to die", he wrote to Brown, "I cannot bear to leave her. Oh, God! God! God! Everything I have in my trunks that reminds me of her goes through me like a spear.... oh, Brown, I have coals of fire in my breast. It surprises me that the human heart is capable of so much misery".

He endured this misery for another couple of months and on February 23, 1821, at the age of 26 years, he breathed his last in the arms of his loving friend, Severn.

No wonder that to this young poet, looking out into a world which had been so much darkened by sorrow, it seemed that the shadow of doom rested upon everything that was most lovely. For him, the splendour in the grass, the glory in the flower, the radiance of the morning sun, the peerless beauty of a woman's eyes, were all instinct with subtle suggestions of sorrow. "In the very temple of Delight", he says, "veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine".

Keats, like Ghalib, is one of the greatest poets of human sorrow. Keats, like Ghalib, thought that the only release from human misery was death. Ghalib said :—

قید حیات-ہلد غم اصل میں دونو ایک ہیں۔
موت سے پہلے آدمی غم سے نجات پائے کیوں۔

And again,

غم ہستی کا اسد کس سے ہو جز مرگ علاج۔
شمع ہر رنگ میں جلتی ہے سحر ہو نے تک

Keats thought that in this life of "misery and heart-break, pain, sickness and oppression", it was "rich to die".

Sorrow ripened Keats. Most art is the product of frustration. It is said that the lips that cannot kiss begin to sing. Sorrow probes deeper into human heart than joy. Sorrow gives more vital experiences. Keats's ideal was to acquire knowledge which comes from "experience gained through personal suffering".

In one of his letters, he wrote, "Until we are sick, we understand not; in fine, as Byron says, 'Knowledge is sorrow'; and I go on to say, Sorrow is wisdom". He had no patience for the easy-going, lighthearted cheerfulness of the optimist. "Look at the Poles", he wrote,

"Look at the Poles and the sands of Africa, whirlpools and volcanoes;—let man exterminate them and I will say that they may arrive at earthly happiness". Again — 'How necessary the world of pains and troubles is to school an intelligence and make it soul'".

And until intelligence was schooled and became soul, thought Keats, no great poetry could be written. In "Hyperion: A Vision", the aspiring poet received the admonition,

"None can usurp this height," returned the shade,
 "But those to whom miseries of the world.
 Are misery, and will not let them rest".

This misery he calls 'sublime'. Even Appollo, in spite of his recent victory over the Titans is described as weeping:—

"His bright tears
 Went trickling down the golden bow he held".

Mnemosyne, the goddess of the Muses, consoles him. She describes the oft-repeated three stages in the development of a poet's life. First, is the poetry of youthful pleasure untainted by human suffering; second, the birth and consciousness of worldly sorrow; and, lastly, the spiritual vision whereby he finds himself immortalised. Shakespeare had passed through all these stages—from Puck to Lear, from Lear to Prospero. Keats did not live long enough to reach the third stage, but he left behind the first stage, the stage of *Endymion*, very early in his career,—as early as *Sleep and Poetry* where he declared, "Yet I must pass them for a nobler life,

"Where I must find the agonies, the strife of human hearts".

Sorrow, Keats thought, created poetry; poetry, in turn, killed sorrow.

"The great end
Of poesy, that it should be a friend
To soothe the cares, and lift the thoughts of men".

SOME ASPECTS OF LIFE AND CULTURE IN MUGHAL INDIA DURING THE SHAH JAHAN PERIOD

N. L. AHMAD

The Shah Jahan period occupies a significant place in the history of Indian culture which goes back to several thousand years. The Dravidians and the Aryans, the Greeks and the Scythians, the Kushans and White Huns, Arabs, Turks and Afgans, and lastly the Mughals and Europeans—all in turn—influenced, some less, some more, our life, thought and art. It will help us to arrive at a proper understanding of our heritage if we make a serious attempt to appreciate these diverse regional, racial, cultural and religious influences.

The Mughal element in our culture is not insignificant. The three Great Mughals—Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan—exercised marked influence on the life and times not only of their contemporaries but also on the succeeding generations coming down to our own day. The importance of this period of approximately 100 years (1556-1658) in our history has not been fully appreciated. Some historians were so obsessed with the later decadent Mughals and their ways that they measured them all by the same common yardstick. Others insisted on comparing the Great Mughals with administrators of the present day and naturally found them wanting. They made no allowance for the enormous physical difficulties of Government in the 16th and 17th centuries and for the absence of the later results of application of science and technology. The Mughals did not have railways, telegraphs, radio communications and aeroplanes to help

them. Nor did they have at their disposal the printing press, the statistical science and a mass of technical information upon every phase of governmental activity. How could they, then, achieve results in administration, social welfare, army organisation and equipment, which were possible in the 19th and 20th centuries? If, on the other hand, you judge them by the standards of their age and compare like with like, Akbar with Elizabeth, Jahangir with James I of England, or Philip III of Spain, and Shah Jahan with Louis XIV of France, which was then the greatest and most civilised country in Europe, and take into account the means with which they worked, then, you would, I think, find that England, Spain and France were not better governed, the peasants not better off than in Hindustan. Nor were the Europeans any better in manners, morals and religious toleration than their contemporaries in this country.

The Shah Jahan period (1628-1658) in our history occupied the last 30 years of the significant century, which began with the accession of Akbar. During these 30 years, Shah Jahan, his Government and the people reaped the advantages, which flowed from the reforms of Akbar and the benign administration of Jahangir. Shah Jahan continued the good work of his father and grandfather in several directions. He endeavoured to secure the happiness and welfare of his people through choice of capable officers and administrators and by close supervision over them and prompt punishment for sloth, incompetence and corruption. In a letter to the young Shah of Iran in 1633, he expounded his conception of sovereignty. According to him, universal sovereignty belonged to God, who for securing public good chose a viceregent to govern his people. The success of the vice-regent's sacred mission lay in his ability to protect life, soul and property of the people from decadence, corruption and injury. He should punish the tyrant according to the degree of crime. The extreme

penalty of death, which was, indeed, reversing the divine order of things, should not be inflicted until after the most careful consideration. In order to have a good Government and sound policy, it was necessary that the vicegerent should be guided by wise counsellors. They must be men of courage and integrity, who may be depended upon for fearless exposition of their views.

To live up to these ideals involved hard work for the Emperor. Tavernier remarked that Shah Jahan governed 'less as a King over his subjects than as a father of a family over his house and children; to such an extent was this the case that, during his reign, the police was so strict in all things, and particularly with reference to the safety of the roads, that there was never any necessity for executing a man for having committed theft'. Manucci thought that 'the lasciviousness of Shah Jahan did not interfere with his care to govern his kingdom most perfectly'.

The importance of the means and modes of communication and transport in social, cultural and military history and in administration cannot be over-emphasized. The Mughal India in the Shah Jahan period lived and worked in the bullock cart age, though the horse played a most important role in the Mughal civilization. He served as the quickest means of communication and transport. Cavalry was the most efficient wing of the Mughal army. Infantry was not only despised by the mounted troopers, but it often served a source of embarrassment to the Mughal commanders in war. The Mughal Government at Agra or Delhi had to wait for nearly six months to get an answer from the Deccan. It was considered a marvellous feat of organisation and speed when an express courier, Banarasi by name, delivered the news of Jahangir's death on 8th November, 1627, at Bhimbhar in Kashmir, to Shah Jahan at Junnar near Poona in 21 days on 28th November, 1627.

In the circumstances, it is not surprising that a flourishing import trade in horses existed during this period. They were brought into this country from Kabul, Turkestan and Iran and fetched high prices. Some attempts were made to improve the indigenous Indian blood stock by cross-breeding. Horses along with elephants were given and received as valuable gifts. Elephants were used for ceremonial purposes and for parading persons in disgrace, as in the case of the tragic Dara Shikoh before his execution by Aurangzeb. Elephants were considered to be powerful weapons in war, even though their use in battle was proved to be of doubtful value times out of number, beginning with the days of Poras and during this period at the battle of Samugarh. Camels were found useful for transport of materials during war. During the monsoon, when the flat Gangetic plain was inundated and movement on land was difficult, the rivers were often found to be the easiest and quickest means of transport. Here in the Kashmir Valley the boat was the normal means of transport. These available means of communication and transport, slow and time-consuming as they were, circumscribed and determined all spheres of thought and action of the people and the governing class.

I will now proceed to give you a brief review of the art and architecture of the Shah Jahan period. It is, perhaps, advisable to treat of calligraphy and painting first, because several forms and motifs developed by the calligraphist and the painter were later worked out in ornamentation of Mughal buildings. Calligraphy, the art of decorative writing, was regarded by the Mughals as a necessary acquisition for a man of culture. It was the first article in the curriculum of a youth's education. It surely ranked before painting and other fine arts, and that is why we find short notices about the life of well-known calligraphists as a necessary appendix to contemporary history.

Abul Fazl gives an account of the various calligraphical systems, which were in use towards the close of the sixteenth century. The one most favoured during our period was the 'nastalik', or the round Persian character, in which most of the valuable manuscripts were written.

Shah Jahan, in his boyhood, practised calligraphy with success, and there are in the Bodleian Library two remarkable specimens of exercises in his hand at the age of sixteen and twenty.

In the former case there is a quatrain written on a tinted paper sprinkled with gold and ornamented with floral designs in colours and gold. Under the lines are his signature—'Exercise by Khurram (son of) Jahangir Shah, 1016.' At the age of twenty his exercise again consists of a verse of four lines with the signature, 'Writer Khurram (son of) Jahangir Shah, 1020.'

The verse may be translated as follows:

'If thy scent may pass towards a rose garden,
The scent of the rose would be unwelcome to the zephyr.
Walk with that handsome stature in the Garden,
And abstain from doing an act which may transform
a rose into a thorn.'

Some of the noted calligraphists of the time were Mohammed Murad Kashmiri, who enjoyed the honorific title of 'Shirinkalam' (Sweet Pen), Abdul Rashid Aldailmi, commonly known as Aka Rashida, Mir Abdulla Mishkin-kalam (ambergris pen) and his two sons, Mir Salih and Mir Momin. Mir Salih succeeded his brother, Mir Momin, entitled 'Roshan-kalam' (Brilliant Pen) as 'Farman-navis' (Farman Writer) at the Court on the latter's death in 1646. The copy of the second volume of Lahori's *Padshahnama* which was used for the Bibliotheca-Indica edition, is in Mir Salih's hand, and bears the autograph of Shah Jahan. Colonel Lees says, 'It is the finest MS I have ever seen'.

The noted master, Mir Abdulla Mishkin-kalam, has left us two excellent specimens of his art. They are in the Polier Collection at the Bililiotheque Nationale, Paris, and form, curiously enough, the two volumes of Lahori's *Padishah Namah*. Apart from the excellence of writing, they are fine examples of contemporary book production. One of the MSS is 38 by 21 centimetres, and the other 31 by 20, with fifteen lines to the page, each being sprinkled with gold dust and bordered with gold, red and yellow lines.

There is a copy in the Bodleian Library of Abdul Rashid's petition to Shah Jahan requesting the favour of a promotion in rank. The copy was made in imitation of the master's style of writing.

In Archbishop Laud's Album, which is dated 1640, there are some more excellent specimens of calligraphy, though the miniatures are of little merit.

The author of the *Char Chaman Brahman* states that Shah Jahan, during his darbars in the Diwan-i-Khas, daily inspected the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the author's own handwriting, the works of the master painters, and the finest specimens of the art of well-known calligraphists. They were, after they had been approved, deposited in the Imperial Libray. Two calligraphists, Aka Rashida and Mir Salih, held the distinguished office of Superintendent of the Library.

The art of of miniature painting, which reached its zenith under the intelligent patronage of the royal connoisseur, Jahangir, maintained its high level during the Shah Jahan period. Shah Jahan's court scenes are usually painted in rich bright colours, in the grand manner, which gives one a feeling of a certain stiffness and ripeness, and a lack of abandon and spontaneity, which marked the pictures of Jahangir's reign. The

intimate relations, that existed between Jahangir and his court painters, were not continued by his successor. On the other hand, a large number of affluent men of taste and culture patronised the painters and loved to decorate their ceilings and walls with pictures. Unfortunately, a very large number of the original paintings by the master painters have been lost to posterity. Many of the extant specimens are copies of copies of the originals by the indifferent artists of the 18th and the 19th century. The Imperial Library at Delhi, which contained priceless manuscripts, illuminated books, finest specimens of the painters' art and rare antiquities, was finally dispersed in deplorable circumstances during the Mutiny of 1857. Nevertheless, there are rare specimens which, in spite of all the ravages of time, continue to impress us by their masterly delineations and brilliant pigments, fresh and glittering, as if they were executed only yesterday. It is regrettable that the Persian histories of Shah Jahan's reign give no account at all of painters at his court. The artists, who left for posterity unique specimens of considerable historic and artistic value, deserved better treatment. Brown's remark about them is very true: "Undescribed and undefined they stand, a shadowy group in the background of the royal drama in which they took such a note-worthy part, never once stepping into the light. Excepting their handiwork, we possess no way of approach to a knowledge of their life and their studios. Some of the most beautiful specimens of the painter's art even lack the familiar short phrase 'amal' (work of), and we are quite in the dark as to the names of the artists, who executed them."

During the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan Mughal painting definitely became an Indian art. The Persian influence, which characterised it during Akbar's reign, mellowed and an exquisite style was evolved which was Indian in character and in spirit.

The Mughal artist, who more often than not was a Hindu, was capable of, and did use his technique in, faithfully representing every phase of life. He depicted in his masterly way both the pomp and pageantry of the magnificent monarch and the simple life of a retired saint in a country cottage surrounded by his half nude disciples sitting on the hard ground.

In this category may be placed the beautiful picture in the Ouseley Collection at the Bodleian. It represents Shah Jahan sitting in the *Jharoka* which is richly inlaid and ornamented. He is dressed in a magnificent attire and is wearing wreaths of pearls interspersed with rubies. Beside him, on the balcony, are standing two princes—Dara is one of them—and a noble, probably Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan, who is resting his hands on a long staff. A rich canopy with a deep fringe of pearls is spread over the seat of the Emperor. Above the canopy is the richly embroidered velvet ceiling cloth bordered with frills. A rich carpet is spread over the floor which is enclosed on the front side with beautiful gold railings. The tall pillars of the Diwan-i-Am add majesty to the whole scene.

Immediately below the Emperor two princes with yawk-tails in their hands are standing on a marble throne. Below the throne on a marble dado are representations of the scales of justice, two sages, one holding the globe and another a sword, and a lion and a cow drinking water from the same stream!

Above the *Jharoka* are the representation of angels in the familiar style of winged figures in the clouds. Below the fringe of the canopy may be seen the lower parts of two painted panels which have been identified as pictures of Jesus and the Virgin.

The nobles are assembled on the floor of the Hall, and among them may be noticed several foreign looking men in Persian dress. The one raising his right hand to the forehead is evidently a Persian Ambassador, and his compliments are being acknowledged by the Emperor who is also shown raising his hand. Behind the nobles and the ambassador there stand the members of his staff holding trays of Persian presents. Outside the railings, on the right, there are three mansabdars, and on the left are a few Persian horses with their grooms.

The picture, which truly depicts the luxury and splendour of Shah Jahan's Court, apparently relates to a darbar scene in the early part of his reign for he himself is represented as one in the prime of life, while the princes also look quite young.

Another darbar group of considerable historical interest is the one by Anupchatar in the British Museum Collection. The drawing is unfinished and is only outlined in black ink. It shows one of the preliminary stages through which a complete miniature had to pass. Its real importance, however, lies in the names written on most of the portraits. We are thus enabled by the courtesy of the artist to see the actual likenesses of some of the leading men of the Empire.

There is another magnificent picture of Shah Jahan's court in the Ouseley Collection in the Bodleian. This is a remarkable specimen of the painter's art. The artist seems to have taken considerable pains in enriching his work with correct and minutest details. Some of the portraits in this picture are exact likenesses of the nobles who were noticed in Anupchatar's painting in the British Museum.

More interesting and intimate than the darbar scenes are the exquisite miniatures, which show the

Emperor sitting in a mood of profound reverence and deep humility before a great saint. The drawing in the British Museum Collection represents Shah Jahan with his sons in the hermitage of the then famous mystic, Mian Mir, Shah Jahan, who is dressed in a quiet style, is raising hands in prayer in common with the pale, ascetic saint grown grey with age. The rest of the party consists of four princes, several scantily clad fakirs sitting on the bare ground, a noble and attendants with flyflaps, one standing behind the Emperor and the other behind the saint. The miniature is not in colours and therefore one can appreciate with delight the extreme delicacy of outline, which is its outstanding merit. The spirit which pervades the picture is characteristically Indian. The ideal simplicity of the saint's life in a quiet corner of the Indian world is successfully depicted by the artist.

Shah Jahan visited Mian Mir at Lahore only twice. Salih's account of the second visit, on December 28, 1634, is a scrupulously correct description of the contemporary picture and lends to it a historical interest all its own. He states that the Emperor attended by his four sons and one or two members of his suit paid a complimentary visit to the renowned saint, who, after a short conversation on spiritual topics, gave him wise counsel, which he took to heart. The interview began and ended with prayers, that is, the recital of the *Fateha* (the first *Sura* of The *Koran*).

Another miniature (British Museum MS Add. 1372) with a similar theme has been admired as 'the finest, the most felt, and most complete of these subjects'. In that picture we see Shah Jahan sitting in a respectful and attentive attitude before a discursive Mulla under a thatched roof against the lovely background of the typical Indian rural life. It is quite probable that the picture commemorates one of Shah Jahan's several visits

to Sheikh Balawal, a religious teacher, who was leading a retired life in Lahore. Lahori states in connection with his first visit to the Sheikh that the Emperor on that occasion 'listened to his delightful speech and learned discourse.'

In the Dara Shikoh Album, which was presented 'to his dearest and nearest friend, the lady Nadirah Begam' in 1641-2, and is now in the India Office Collection, there is a fascinating picture styled 'Reading the Koran'. It shows a teacher with two students and a Mulla sitting under a tree. The teacher with a rosary in his hand is evidently addressing his remarks to the one, who has finished his lesson. The other is busy studying The *Koran* with remarkable reverence and devotion. There is another Mulla with his tucked up sleeves, who is making ablutions to be ready for prayers. The whole composition, which faithfully depicts the life of the Mullas and their pupils, is noteworthy for its expression of natural simplicity, beautiful sentiment and sweet harmony.

The art of portraiture and border decoration in our period attained its high excellence during this period. Apart from their artistic qualities, the portraits are perfect character studies of the people, whom they represent. The painter succeeded in disclosing the inner nature of his sitter and the outstanding traits of his character. He made his face the index of his heart. His sitters were not drawn from the royal personages only but from the diverse spheres of life. As Percy Brown says: "The list is unending—princes and priests, courts, courtiers and grooms, musicians and dancing girls, soldiers and mendicants, all sorts and conditions of men and women jostle one another in this remarkable portrait gallery".

Shah Jahan, like his father, seems to have used his portraits for presentation purposes also. On his

concluding peace with the Deccan rulers, Kulb-ul-Mulk specially requested him for a 'shabih' (likeness or portrait), which was sent to him along with other gifts. The picture was in a frame ornamented with pearls and was suspended from a chain also made of pearls.

The decorative border with the arabesque, bird and animal motifs is a distinctive feature of the miniatures of our period. The naturalistic flowering-plant motifs have a special significance in connection with the designs of inlay work in the Taj Mahal and the Delhi Palaces. The Mughal lapidary was perhaps anticipated and inspired by the Indian painter. The latter showed his real art in the masterly handling of the minute details of a half-turned leaf, a half-opened bud or a blossoming flower.

Of exceptional importance is the portrait of Shah Jahan in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Wantage Bequest, 112-1921. I. M.). It was formerly in the Imperial Mughal Collection at Delhi. He is shown in profile standing against the background of blank space with a straight long-sword in hand and a fly-whisk in the other. His features are faithfully depicted in this picture. A tiara richly ornamented with jewels, the wreaths of pearls and rubies, and his robe of transparently superfine muslin, add elegance to a handsome figure.

In the sky above are seen 'two birds of paradise', as if guarding the Emperor against the ravages of time.

There is a suitable couplet written in a very small and beautiful hand on the right and left of the portrait.

The deep outer border of the mount is decorated in fine taste with beautiful drawings of naturalistic flowering-plants. An extraordinary interest is added to

its delicate workmanship when we find that the flowering plant motifs of inlay decoration in the Taj Mahal are very similar to what we see here.

Another portrait of Shah Jahan in the Bodleian (MS. Pers. B. 1., No. 13) is noteworthy for its rich and delicate border decoration in floral and arabesque designs, in colours and gold, on a ground of indigo-blue. The dainty little flowers worked in the various colours show the extreme fineness of the artist's brush.

Of the prominent personalities during our period there are several single-portraits in the various collections. The portrait of Allami Sadulla Khan, the Vizier of Shah Jahan, by Anupchatar, presents perhaps one of the most penetrating studies in character. His prominent nose, thin lips, and penetrating eyes are rendered with such consummate skill that they serve to endow him with that intelligent and discerning personality which a study of his meteoric career suggests. With remarkable success the painter has portrayed in his face the character and the true life-story of his sitter.

Hunhar painted Islam Khan as a distinguished looking man. He was a successful governor and held for some time the high office of Vizier.

The same artist has given us the portrait of Jafar Khan, Mir Bakhshi and the last Vizier of Shah Jahan.

The portrait of Sadik Khan Mir Bakhshi by Govardhan depicts him as a rough and ready soldier.

The portrait of Raja Jai Singh in the Bodleian is remarkable for its utter simplicity. He is a young man wearing a ring in his ear and is shown sitting on a carpet. The name of the artist is not given.

The chief court painters, who served under Shah Jahan and whose work has been noticed here, were Mohammed Abd, Govardhan, Hunhar, Balchand and Anupchatar; the last two were, perhaps, the leading masters of their time.

The artists responsible for the two beautiful works of arts, which I have reproduced elsewhere, remain unidentified.

Manohar was another eminent court painter, who seems to have had the distinction of working under three sovereigns, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. One of his best pictures (I. O. Library, Johnston Album, No. 4), which is described as 'The Parting of Jahangir and Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan)' is dated 1647, which shows that he was working till late in the reign.

Chatarman was another painter, who worked at the Court. His portrait of 'Shaista Khan Amirul Umara' (the title was given by Aurangzeb) would lead us to believe that he was also working in the reign of Shah Jahan's son and successor.

Mohammed Fakirulla Khan was, perhaps, also one of the court painters, but I have not been able to see his work. Brown reproduces the portrait of 'Muhammad Faqirullah Khan, Head Artist at the Court of Shah Jahan', painted in 1950; and writes about it, "But here we have, as the inscription boldly tells us, a representation of the chief government artist in the flesh" Brown, it seems, has misread the inscription, for it clearly reads as 'Portrait of Saiyed Hidayatulla Sadr, work of Dulah'. The artist Dulah painted the portrait of Saiyed Hidayatulla, who was appointed Sadr by Shah Jahan in 1647.

In the architecture of our period there is much that is reminiscent of the contemporary painter's art. The spirit of refinement and delicacy, which pervades

the pictures, finds its manifestation also in architecture. Akbar's edifices display the robust and unsubdued vigour of a great conqueror. He built strong and massive structures, which give the impression that their original purpose was to defy the battering guns of an enemy. When the Mughals under his immediate successors were firmly settled in India, they built for the love of ease, comfort and refinement. The different spirits which guided the two great Mughal builders account for the remarkable change one experiences on passing from a red sandstone palace to a white marble hall in the Fort at Agra. Shah Jahan's choice of white marble as building material and costly jewel work serve to distinguish some of his outstanding buildings. Architecture of this period witnessed indeed the culmination of the Indian Mughal tradition, which lay great store by the laws of proportion and symmetry and the principles of perspective and climax. It was the product of the imagination and idealism of the architects, the scientific and technical knowledge of the engineers and the traditional hereditary skills of masons, craftsmen, lapidaries and inlayers. All these persons professing and practising the several disciplines must have worked in great co-operation and harmony. A considerable number of these persons were, no doubt, Hindus, who had pursued their hereditary vocations through centuries and who were steeped in the traditions of Kanauj, Bindraban, Ajanta, Ellora and Dilwara. No other period in the history of Indian architecture displays a higher degree of delicacy of feeling and refinement of taste.

The Mughal buildings and gardens of this period form an inseparable whole. The buildings would lose much of their charm and attraction without the gardens and vice versa. The Mughals, who were immensely struck with the natural beauty of Kashmir and called it a paradise on earth, found in its landscapes an ideal setting for indulging in full in their love for gardening.

The best known of the Kashmir gardens, namely, the Shalamar, was planned and laid out in its first stage by Shan Jahan in 1620 on the orders of Jahangir. It seems that the site of the present gardens was known as Shalamar (abode of love) and its flowers were a great attraction. Jahangir in his *Memoirs* (Rogers and Beveridge: Vol. II, P. 151) describes this spot and mentions the circumstances in which the foundations of the present gardens were laid. He says: "It (Shalamar) has a pleasant stream, which comes down from the hills and flows into the Dal lake. I bade my son Khurram dam it up and make a waterfall, which it would be a pleasure to behold. This place is one of the sights of Kashmir". Shah Jahan on his first visit in 1634 to Kashmir, after his accession, felt happy at the sight of the garden he had founded and named it Farah Bakhsh, a term which signifies the feeling of delight which the garden offered to the visitor. In a corner towards the north of the original Farah Bakhsh garden, he built a hamam. He also built two pavilions facing the channel of running water, which he called Shah Nahr. Two other apartments and servants' quarters were also added. In the rear of the Farah Bakhsh garden Shah Jahan ordered the laying out of another garden known as Faiz Bakhsh, which included additional pavilions and terraces. Abdul Hamid Lahori states in the *Padshah Namah* (Vol. I, B. P. 26) that apartments in the Farah Bakhsh were used as royal residence and those in the Faiz Bakhsh were used for private audience. In front of the old Farah Bakhsh garden and right on the lake was another garden with a pavilion, which served for public audience.

I will not bother you with the detailed description of these gardens. This can be studied from any of the numerous books on Mughal architecture. What is, however, most noticeable in the Shalamar and other Kashmir gardens is the effective use made of running

waters of the hill streams and natural slopes of the hillside. The landscape architect converted and trained these into channels, cascades and pools of appropriate size and shape, studded them with elegantly shaped fountains at regular intervals and utilised the slopes for building terraces. On these terraces and over or alongside the channels he built pavilions and apartments. Platforms and terrace walks were decorated with flowering plants in beautifully carved stone vases. The parterres in the garden were laid out in the familiar geometrical patterns. The flowering shrubs and fruit trees, chinars and poplars, or for that matter any other trees, had their proper and fixed place in the garden. The delightful anarchy of an English garden is conspicuous by its absence in the Mughal garden.

Bagh-e-Safa was another well known garden in this period. Jahan Ara made several additions and improvements in this garden. Baghe Nishat, built by Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan, is an excellent specimen of landscape gardening. Scott O'Connor in his *Charm of Kashmir* (FP. 57-58) says that 'it has an air of Versailles, as of formal majesty, but more human as Majesty is in the East'. Here I should contradict the apocryphal story (C.M. Villiers Stuart: *Gardens of the Great Mughals*. PP. 168-170) that Shah Jahan stopped water supply to the garden on Asaf Khan's failure to make a gift of it to the Emperor, but that he soon relented. The story is not traceable in any Persian chronicle. On the other hand, Lahori mentions that Shah Jahan very much admired the beauty of this garden when he visited it in 1634. In contrast to the Nishat was the peace and tranquillity of the Baghe Nasim, which was built by Azam Khan in the last years of his life. It is not surprising that in its ruined condition, it should impress Scott O'Connor 'with a touch of Magdalen-deer-park'.

Besides these gardens, Lahori mentions several other Mughal gardens in Kashmir, which were built by the princes and the nobles: Baghe Aishabad, Baghe Noor Afshan built by Nur Jahan, Baghe Shahabad, Baghe Murad, Baghe Afzalabad built by Allami Afzal Khan, Baghe Saif Khan and Baghe Ganga Reshi being some of them.

Kudsi and several other contemporary poets immortalized the beauty of Kashmir and its Mughal gardens in verse. Kudsi wrote:

مرا باغ فرح بخش است منظور
ندارم آرزوے روضہ حور
ز باغ فیض بخش چشم دل بود شاد
ز ایام جوانی میدهد یاد
نشاط عمر در باغ نشاطست

There was an abundance of a large variety of flowers and fruits in the Mughal gardens. The official chronicler, Lahori (Vol. I, B.PP. 26,30), gives bits of interesting information about some of the Kashmir fruits. Shah Aloo (cherry) trees, which were scanty in Jahangir's reign, were plentiful in our period. The fruit was of 'superior quality as compared to that from Kabul'. 'Pears were so juicy and tender that they could not be transported even to Bhimbar' 'A variety of grapes were grown, but they were not sweet due to humidity'. Almonds were in plenty, but pistachios were scarce. Pomegranates were of poor quality. Kashmir also produced a large variety of medicinal herbs and fruits. No other place in the Mughal Empire, which would include the province of Kabul, was known to produce walnuts in greater profusion. Walnut oil was so cheap that it was commonly used for lighting homes throughout the territory of Kashmir.

The foundation stone of the Shalamar gardens was laid some six miles east of the Lahore Fort in July, 1641, on the bank of the Shah Nahr, which had been completed under the supervision of Ali Mardan Khan. It seems that water did not flow smoothly and a new channel had to be made under Mulla Alaul Mulk's supervision. The channel alone cost about three lakhs of rupees. The work on the gardens continued for more than a year under Khalilulla Khan's supervision, and on completion they were opened ceremoniously by the Emperor in October, 1642. The gardens included a Diwane-Khas and several marble pavilions in addition to water channels, cascades and reservoirs. Six lakhs of rupees were spent on them. Shah Jahan gave them the name Faiz Bakhsh O' Farah Bakhsh. The general plan of the gardens is given in Major Cole's monograph, 'Buildings in the Punjab', 1884.

The beauty of these gardens and their running water is said to have inspired a Mughal princess to compose the well known verses:—

اے آبشار نوحہ گر از بہر کیستی
سر درنگون فگندہ ز اندوح کیستی
آیا چه درد بود کہ چون ما تمام شب
سر را بسنگ مے زدی و میگردیستی

For whom, O Cascade, are you in lament?
In sympathy for whom have you cast down your head?
What kind of pain was it that, like me, you too all
through the night
Were striking your head against the stone and crying?

Shah Jahan did not appreciate Jahangir's indifferent style of building in white marble and, consequently, ordered the removal of several structures of that period at Lahore, Agra and other places. On his first visit to Lahore, in 1634, he directed the local governor, Wazir Khan, to re-build the Diwane-Khas and the Khwab

Gah (the bed chamber) in the Fort. Seven months later on his return to Lahore from a visit to Kashmir they were ready for his reception.

The Taj Mahal enshrines Shah Jahan's love for his young and beautiful wife, Mumtaz Mahal, who died in the prime of her life at Burhanpur in child bed in 1631. Her body was buried temporarily in the Zenabad gardens on the left bank of Tapti, opposite Burhanpur. A few months later the body was removed to Agra, where it was permanently laid to rest on January 8, 1632. The spacious ground, where the mausoleum was built, occupies a splendid situation on the bank of the Yamuna and was purchased from Raja Jai Singh. The work on the foundations of the Taj commenced in January, 1632, and they were sunk down to the level of the water springs. On the second anniversary of Mumtaz Mahal's death a gold screen, weighing 40,000 tolas and worth six lakhs of rupees, was fixed round her grave. It was an excellent specimen of the goldsmith's and enameller's arts. The inscriptions and the arabesque designs on it were in enamel. As the mausoleum neared completion, the gold screen was replaced by a screen of white marble, the construction of which took ten long years and cost 50,000 rupees. The official chronicler states that artisans and craftsmen, unrivalled in their respective professions, were engaged on the building of this monument, which was completed under the supervision of Makramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim in 11 years at an expense of 50 lakhs of rupees. On February 6, 1634, the Emperor solemnized the anniversary of his wife's death in the new buildings. Tavernier says that he 'witnessed the commencement and completion of this great work, on which they have expended twenty-two years, during which twenty thousand workmen worked incessantly'. He states the common view 'that the scaffolding alone cost more than the entire work'.

Neither the official chronicler nor any other contemporay Persian chronicle mentions the names of the architects and the builders of the Taj. Unfortunately, they must remain anonymous. Several small treatises, produced in the 19th century, profess to give the history of the Taj and mention a large number of names of draughtsmen, masons and other craftsmen, who are alleged to have been engaged on the building of the Taj. They also give the names and the weights of the precious and semi-precious stones used in the Taj and the places of their origin. These works are not reliable.

For a general description of the Taj Mahal, I cannot do better than give the exquisite pen-sketch by Bayard Taylor:

Like the Tomb of Ukbur it stands in a large garden, inclosed by a lofty wall of red sandstone, with arched galleries around the interior, and entered by a superb gate-way of sandstone, inlaid with ornaments and inscriptions from the *Koran* in white marble. Outside of this grand portal, however, is a spacious quadrangle of solid masonry with an elegant structure intended as a caravanserai on the opposite side. Whatever may be the visitor's impatience, he cannot help pausing to notice the fine proportions of these structures and the rich and massive style of their construction. The gate to the garden of the Taj is not so large as that of Ukbur's, tomb but quite as beautiful in design. Passing under the open demi-vault, whose arch hangs high above you, an avenue of dark Italian cypress appears before you. Down its centre sparkles a long row of fountains, each casting up a single slender jet... Down such a visit and over such a foreground rises the Taj.

It is an octagonal building, or rather a square with the corners and each side precisely similar. It stands upon a lofty platform, or pedestal, with a minaret at each corner, and this again is lifted on a vast terrace of solid masonry. An oriental dome swelling out boldly from the base into nearly two-thirds of a sphere, and tapering at the top into a crescent-tipped spire, crowns the edifice, rising

from its centre with four similar, though much smaller, domes at the corners. On each side there is a grand entrance, formed by a single pointed arch, rising nearly to the cornice, and two smaller arches (one placed above the other) on either end. But no word can convey an idea of the exquisite harmony of the different parts, and the grand glorious effect of the whole structure with its attendant minarets... Every part—even the basement, the dome, and the upper galleries of the minarets—is inlaid with ornamental designs in marble of different colours, principally a pale brown, and a bluish violet variety. Great as the dimensions of the Taj are, it is as laboriously finished as one of those Chinese caskets of ivory and ebony, which are now so common in Europe. Bishop Heber truly said:— 'The Pathans designed like Titans and finished like jewellers'. Around all the arches of the portals and the windows—around the cornice and the domes—on the walls, and in the passage, are inlaid chapters of the *Koran*, the letters being exquisitely formed of black marble..... The tombs are sarcophagi of the purest marble, exquisitely inlaid with bloodstone, agate, cornelian, lapis-lazuli, and other precious stones and surrounded with an octagonal screen six feet high, in the open tracery of which lilies, irises and other flowers are interwrought with the most intricate ornamental designs. It is of marble covered with precious stones.

The Taj is the most complete example of the successful application of the laws of proportion and symmetry and of perspective and climax, which I have referred to earlier. Its builders succeeded in giving it a subtle air of repose and an undefinable romantic spell.

The Moti Masjid in the Fort at Agra is a unique work of its kind. In contrast with the rich and elaborate forms of decoration adopted in the other well known buildings, this mosque was built in white marble with no ornamentation at all to disturb its chaste atmosphere of dignity and purity. It was intended to be an ideal house of prayer, where nothing should disturb the worshipper in his devout efforts to seek communion with God. The Mughal architects could be, if they so

wished, as effective with simple forms as with their more elaborate efforts. Shah Jahan ordered the building of this mosque in the twentyfirst year of his reign. It was completed in 1653. Three lakhs of rupees were spent on the building.

The first buildings, which were completed in Agra during Shah Jahan's reign, were the Diwane-Am, the Diwane-Khas, and the marble pavilions and apartments in the Fort. They were ready for occupation by January, 1637. Until early in Shah Jahan's reign a large canopy was spread in front of the raised marble throne. A few months after his accession the canopy was replaced by a wooden structure, which served the purpose of the Diwane-Am. The new Diwane-Am was built of red sand-stone and was painted with white marble plaster. The few marble pavilions, which had been built during the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir, were pulled down to make room for the new ones.

Let us now turn to Delhi, which is so rich in architecture and whose ruins furnish an epitome of the history of Hindustan. It seems that Shah Jahan could not resist the temptation of falling in line with the tradition set up by earlier kings of building for themselves new capital cities of Delhi. He built the city of Shah-jahanabad, which is the present city of Delhi as distinct from New Delhi. According to the court chronicler, the reasons for founding the new city of Shahjahanabad were the extremes of climate at Agra, the absence of a suitable royal residence between Agra and Lahore, and lastly the Emperor's desire to leave to posterity a remarkable monument of his reign. The new city was planned with the Red Fort and the Jame Masjid as its focal points. It seems that architects, engineers and directors of the state building department debated for a considerable time on a suitable site. Ultimately, the site between Nurgarh and the old city was chosen.

The plan of the Red Fort was finally approved by the Emperor, and the work commenced with the usual ceremonies on the evening of April 28, 1639, when the two master architects, Ahmed and Hamid, marked the foundations in an auspicious hour. The foundation stone was laid thirteen days later.

Expert artisans—stone cutters, lapidaries, inlayers, limners, masons and carpenters—were summoned from all parts of the Empire to work on the buildings. Ghairat Khan and Alavardi Khan first supervised the building operations. Later, Makramat Khan was appointed to the governorship of Delhi in September, 1641, and he was entrusted with the task. It will be remembered that he also supervised the Taj Mahal works at Agra during this period. He was specially suited for directing the decoration of the buildings according to Shah Jahan's tastes, which he had ample opportunities to study in his former capacity as the Mir Saman. The Emperor himself inspected the rising buildings on the Jumna on several occasions, and directed alterations where necessary. The buildings were completed after continuous work of nine years, and were formally opened by the Emperor on April 18, 1648.

The principal buildings in the vast palace fortress were the Bazar-i-musakaf or 'the Vaulted hall', the Nakar Khana, the Bazar and the stables, the Diwane-Am and the Diwane-Khas, the Shah Burj, the Hamam, the Private Apartment and the Hayat Bakhsh Garden.

I have been able to discover the origin of the vaulted hall, which was admired by Fergusson as 'the noblest entrance known to belong to any existing palace'. Lahori, in his account of Shah Jahan's journey to Kabul, mentions that the Emperor passed on May 22, 1646, by a vaulted bazar with an octagonal break in the centre, which had been built after the Persian style by

Ali Mardan Khan. He appreciated the design and sent its plan to Makramat Khan at Delhi with orders for building a similar bazar between the West gate of the Jilau Khana and the Lahore Gate.

The Diwane-Am was a large and splendid building supported by 60 well-designed columns with 27 engrailed arches. It was built of red sandstone, but the pillars and the ceiling were painted white with the marble plaster or 'chunam', and the upper parts were richly covered with gold. In the centre of the back wall of the hall was the recess from which projected the Jharoka of the Diwane-Am, surmounted with an ornamental marble canopy supported by four pillars. The balcony, or throne, was enclosed on three sides by a beautifully designed gold railing, and was richly inlaid with precious stones, 'representing various forms and figures.' The chronicler, Mohammed Waris, does not go into the details of those 'forms and figures', which have served to inspire a lively controversy in the world of art. It seems desirable to describe briefly the panels¹ of inlay work on the back wall of the recess. A sketch in colour made by Ghulam Ali Khan in 1837² shows that there were two rectangular panels on either side of the gilded doors in the centre 'and a rounded head to the wall above these'. The five spaces were enclosed by a narrow border of small reliefs of birds, animals, and floral designs on a dark ground. The interiors of the panels were relieved by similar inlaid designs on larger cross-shaped frames surrounded by floral scrolls and representations of birds

1. They have been variously described. According to some they are 'artistic monstrosities'.—Sir George Birdwood, as quoted by Mr. Havell in the *Nineteenth Century and After* June, 1903, P. 1044.

2. The drawing, which reproduced in Major Cole's Monograph *Delhi* (1884), was made before some of the panels were removed in 1857 by Captain Jones and sold to the Government for £500. They have since been restored to their original place.—*Archaeological Survey of India Report* (190-2-3 p. 26).

on white marble. 'The relief of Orpheus¹ was at the top of all, and touched the apex of the rounded head; it was smaller than the frames of the bird reliefs, and much too small to be a marked feature in the scheme of decoration. It is a very rough piece of work, the lapis lazuli and cornelian of the robes of Italo-Thracian being extremely coarse in execution'. Even to a superficial observer of the drawing it should be clear that the representation of Orpheus formed no part of the general scheme of inlay decoration. If it is removed, the small vacant space would perhaps be more appropriately filled by a small relief of a bird on a dark ground, which is the one thing missing from the scheme of reliefs.

It is not improbable that the panel² was inserted some time after Aurangzeb's death. The latter's scruples regarding the representation of human figures would not permit him to tolerate the exhibition of the figure on the wall. Most probably it was imported into India as a curiosity or "toy" during the period of the later Mughals.

As for the art of inlay work, which is supposed to be taught to the Mughals by the Italians, it may

-
1. Havell, in an article in the *Nineteenth Century and After* (June 1903, pp. 1039-49), expresses himself of opinion that the ornamentation had 'all the appearance of eighteenth century work', and was directed 'by some fourth-rate European artist.' Sir John Marshall (*Archaeological Survey of India Report* 1904-5, p. 3; 1902-3, p. 27) thinks that the 'panels were without doubt made in Italy itself and brought to India all complete', because 'the black marble of their backgrounds and the majority of the inlaid stones are of Italian, and not Indian, provenance.'
 2. The apocryphal story that the figure of Orpheus was the portrait of Austin-de-Bordeaux, who was alleged to be responsible for the inlay decoration of the Jharoka, need not be repeated here.

suffice to say that the technique existed in India long before the Italians discovered it. This view was confirmed by the discovery, early in this century, of inlay work 'in a rougher and earlier stage', in the ruins of 'a magnificent tomb of white marble' at Mandu¹. It was most probably the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmud Khilji, the talented ruler of Malwa.

The Diwane-Khas was the most sumptuous apartment of the palace. Precious stones were inlaid on the dado, while the upper part of the wall was painted in designs of flowers and fruit trees. The wall facing the river was ornamented with rich mirror-work. Its gold coated silver was completed at an expense of 9 lakhs of rupees.

The expenses on the new building amounted to 60 lakhs of rupees, out of which 21 lakhs were spent on the fortifications of the fortress, 14 lakhs on the Diwane-Khas, 6 lakhs on the Hayat Bakhsh Garden, 2 lakhs and 50 thousand on the Diwane-Am, 7 lakhs on the royal residential apartments and the remaining sum on the other buildings.

The cathedral mosque of Delhi was the last great work of Shah Jahan's reign. The work on the mosque, which is situated on a rock to the West of the Fort, was commenced on September 26, 1650. On that date Sadulla Khan and Alaul Mulk (also known by his title Fazil Khan) laid the foundation stone. Five thousand men worked daily on the building until its completion in July, 1656. The work of polishing the stones was continued for another three months. The Emperor, in planning the mosque, was inspired by Akbar's lofty monument at Fatehpur Sikri. The intention of building

1. Sir John Marshall in *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1904-5) pp. 1-3. H. Cousens in *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1902-3) pp. 18-20.

a lofty portal was abandoned on the architects' representation that its huge dimensions would make it unstable.

The beautiful pavilions at the Ana Sagar Lake in Ajmer, the construction of which was started in Jahangir's reign, were completed during the first decade of Shah Jahan's reign. Shah Jahan added the halls of audience and the Jharokae-Darshan. The total expenditure on the buildings was three lakhs of rupees; half of this amount was spent during our period.

SAIVISTIC CONCEPTION OF LIBERATION

B. N. PANDIT

Transmigration of soul is the chief common belief of all the sects of Hinduism and the religions sprung out of it. There are only the *Lokayatikas* among the thinkers of India who do not have faith in this fundamental principle of Hinduism¹. All other schools of Indian philosophy, except the *Mimansa Darshanam*, believe that liberation from the cycles of birth and death is the ultimate aim of all life. The early *Mimansakas* believed that the highest aim that can be yielded by the religions of the *Vedas* is the achievement of heaven. The *Nyaya Vaisesika*, the *Sankhya-Yoga*, the idealistic and the nihilistic Buddhism, Jainism, Vaisnavism, *Vedanta* and the *Saivism* all believe in liberation or *Mukti* as the highest goal of life. But the conceptions of *Mukti* according to these schools are quite different from one another.

According to the *Vaisnavas*, the liberated souls are admitted to *Vaikuntha*, the abode of the Lord *Narayana*. There they live as the devotees of the Lord whose constant presence is ever felt as divine bliss by them. There they get some sort of subtle and superior bodies which are just like that of the *Narayana* in appearance and lustre. They attain all the powers of the Lord except his Godhead². Thus they continue to live in an ever blissful state full of every kind of pleasure without any pain in the *Vaikuntha*; and this eternal life in the abode of the Lord is the ultimate release from this worldly life, and this is the liberation of a worldly soul.

Jainism teaches that when a soul becomes purified of all worldly impurities it becomes so light that it ascends the uppermost part of the sky known as *Sidha Silu-Aloka-Akasa*. There it continues to exist in an ever blissful state getting all kind of divine pleasure without any effort or pain; and the achievement of this abode of the perfect beings, like the *Tirthankaras*, is the ultimate aim of all life, and this is the liberation of a soul from bondage³. Both the *Vaikuntha* and *Sidha Sila* can at the most be the highest stages in the domain of the dreaming state, *Swapna Jagat*, in the light of Saivism.

Different stages of dreamless sleep, *Susupti*, can be achieved in the conceptions of *Nyaya-Vaisesika*, *Sankhya-Yoga*, *Buddhism* and *Vedanta* liberation. The *Apavarga* of the *Nyaya-Vaisesika* is a state in which a being does never indulge in any knowing or doing or even desiring⁴. This they call the state of *Apavarga*, which means a state in which a being gives up all inclination towards action and is liberated from all misery⁵. This is the lowest sub-stage of the state of dreamless sleep. The *Kaivalya* of the *Sankhya-Yoga* is a state in which a being becomes extremely indifferent towards the external and the internal world and stands still and absolutely aloof like pure space. This state of absolute aloofness is one of the middle stages of the state of dreamless sleep. The next sub-stage in that state is that of the liberation of the idealistic Buddhists, the *Vijnana Vadnis*. They say that mere constant successions of ideas are egoistically felt and known as souls. They are pure by nature⁶. They get themselves transformed into objective ideas because of impurity of past impressions. But, when these impressions are washed away, they become absolutely pure and serene and calm and consequently do not get transformed into objective ideas. They continue to exist in constant successions of pure ideas and do not

get connected with any mind or body and thus become liberated. The nihilistic Buddhists believe that the successions of those pure and effulgent ideas also become extinct in absolute purity, and what remains is a mere void which is without any positive qualities. This extinction of a being is known as the *Nirvana*? and this is considered as the state of liberation by the Buddhists. The *Vedanta* also teaches nearly the same thing but it believes that the transcendental self does not become extinct. It exists for ever and it witnesses the state of pure idealism and also that of nihilism. The void is not the absolute truth. The absolute truth is that existent entity which witnesses that state of dream-less sleep. This is the highest state of dreamless sleep with a peep into the fourth state, named the *Turiya Dasa*. The attainment of this state is the Vedantic conception of liberation.

The real fourth state can be achieved in the liberation as conceived by the *Saivas*. The *Vedantic* liberation is a sort of tranquillity without any positive charm in it. The *Saivas* say that the highest liberation of the soul is of three types. Some beings realize thoroughly that the universe is but a mere play, a mere drama of their own self, just as all comic and pathetic scenes in a drama result in nothing but a sort of bliss to a person who knows that it is just a play; so the worldly pleasure and pain result in a divine bliss to a person who has that understanding. But this understanding should be as firm as that of one's being such and such a person, or being the son of such and such a person, and so on. Such a person is not affected by any pleasure or pain but enjoys everything blissfully. Then there can be another sort of liberation in which one becomes charged with Godhead and can enjoy His powers to create, to preserve, to absorb, to obscure and to reveal. He becomes, as it were, God in such a fit of the charge of Godhead. These are the two types of liberation

of a soul while he is in some gross or subtle form. But when a person gets absolutely rid of all name and form, he becomes, as it were, one with the absolute God. He then enjoys, for ever, the absolute Godhead which is his real nature. He is the absolute God alone for all time and space. The whole creation is the play of his supreme godhead. He is all bliss just as a piece of salt is all saltish. All pleasure and pain are nothing but his play which is ever going on through his mere will. He is self-sufficient, self-dependent, self-evident and self-conscious. He is all that exists and that does not exist and yet he transcends the whole phenomenal universe. Thus, he is simultaneously enjoying his two aspects of absolute transcendality and absolute universality and all the intermediary aspects within these two extremities. This sort of being is the highest type of liberation that a person can achieve by treading the practical path of Saivism⁸.

There is no particular abode of liberated souls. Mere realization of one's hidden powers is liberation⁹. The absolute truth is that the self is every thing and every thing is the self. The whole universe is the divine play of the self which he plays with his energy¹⁰. Not to know this truth is bondage and to know this truth is liberation¹¹. *Ajnanam* is bondage and *Jnanam* is liberation. *Ajnanam* should not be known as lack of knowledge, but only a little knowledge; and limited knowledge is here meant by a little knowledge. So, to know and to feel that a person is either this gross body or mind or life force or the void, all of which are conditioned by limitations of time and space, is the limited knowledge and this is bondage; and, on the other hand, to know and to feel that he is *Parama Siva*, the absolute God who transcends every thing and pervades every thing, that every thing is in him and he is in every thing, that all this is mere manifestation of his own energy brought about by his supreme will and so on, that is the

unlimited knowledge and that is liberation. *Ajnanam* is a sort of confusion which involves a person as well as his intellect. *Jnanam*, on the other hand, is a sort of revelation which shatters all confusion in a person as well as in his intellect. This is the definition of liberation given in the *Iantraloka* by Abhinavagupta¹². Liberation taught by other schools of philosophy also is liberation, but it is only a partial liberation and the experience of Godhead, which is the real nature of the self, is absolute liberation according to Abhinavagupta. Those souls who rest in some sub-stage of dreamless sleep lie there in liberation for some time and not for ever. The Lord *Sri Kantha* keeps such souls in complete tranquillity for some ages and at the beginning of his fresh day. He again brings them forth into the cycles of birth and death. So their liberation is not the absolute one¹³. Then, the liberation achieved through other *Sastras* leads upto certain *Tattwas*. It is only the Saivistic liberation that leads to *Parama Sivahood*, the ultimate and the absolute truth.¹⁴

FOOTNOTES

- (1) यावज्जीवं सुखं जीवेद् ऋणं कृत्वा घृतं पिवेत् ।
भस्मीभूतस्य देहस्य पुनरागमनं कुतः । (*Sarva darsana Sangraha*)
- (2) एवं गुणाः समानाः स्युर्मुक्तानामीश्वरस्य च ।
सर्वकर्तृत्वमेवैकं तेभ्यो देवे विशिष्यते ॥ (*Panca Ratra Rahyam*)
- (3) गत्वा गत्वा निवर्तन्ते सूर्यचन्द्रादयो ग्रहाः ।
अद्यापि न निवर्तन्ते त्वलोकाकाहामागताः । (*S. D. S.*)
- (4) ननु तस्यामवस्थायां कीदृगात्मावशिष्यते ।
स्वरूपैकप्रतिष्ठानः परित्यक्तोऽखिलैर्गुणैः ॥
ऊर्मिषट्कातिगं रूपं तदस्याहुर्मनीषिणः ।
संसारबन्धनाधीनदुःखक्लेशाद्यदूषितम् ॥ (*Nyaya manjari 1-1.22*)
- (5) अपवर्गस्यागमोक्षयोः क्रियावसाने साकल्ये । (*Hema Chandra Kosa*)

- (6) प्रभास्वरमिदं चित्तं प्रकृत्यागन्तवो मलाः ।
तेषामपाये सर्वार्थं तज्ज्योतिरविनश्वरम् ।

Quoted in (*Tantraloka Vol. I, Page 64*)

- (7) दीपो यथा निवृत्तिमभ्युपेतो नैवावनिं गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
दिशं न काञ्चिद् विदिशं न काञ्चित् स्नेहक्षयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम्
एवं कृती निवृत्तिमभ्युपेतो नैवावनिं गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
दिशं न काञ्चिद्विदिशं न काञ्चित् क्लेशक्षयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम् ॥

[सौन्दरानन्दम् — १६ — २८, २९]

- (8) यद्यदिच्छति तत्तज्जानाति करोति च समावेशाभ्यासपरोऽनेनैव
शरीरेण ।

अतत्परस्तु सति देहे जीवन्मुक्तस्तत् पाते परमेश्वर एवेति ॥

(*Isvara Pratyabbijyana Vimarsini IV — 1 - 15*)

- (9) मोक्षस्य नैव किञ्चिद् धामास्ति न चादि गमनमन्यत्र ।
अज्ञानं प्रस्थिभिदा स्वशक्त्यभिव्यक्तता मोक्षः ॥ (*Paramartha*
Sara 60)

- (10) एवं देवोऽनया देव्या नित्यं क्रीडारसोत्सुकः ।

विचित्रान् सृष्टिसंहारान् विधत्ते युगपद्विभुः ॥ (*Bodha Pancu*
Dasika. 6)

- (11) क] यदेतस्यापरिज्ञानं तत् स्यातन्व्यं हि वर्णितम् ।

स एव खलु संसारो जडानां यो विभीषिका ॥ (*Ibid 11*)

(ख) यत्तत्त्वस्य परिज्ञानं स मोक्षः परमेशिता ।

तत्पूर्णत्वं प्रबुद्धानां जीवन्मुक्तिश्च सा स्मृता ॥ (*Ibid 13*)

- (12) क] इह तावत् समस्तेषु शास्त्रेषु परिगीयते ।

अज्ञानं संसृतेर्हेतुर्ज्ञानं मोक्षैककारणम् ॥ (*T. A. I. — 22*)

(ख) अज्ञानमिति न ज्ञानाभावश्चाति प्रसङ्गतः ।

स हि लोष्टादिकेऽप्यास्ति न च तस्यास्ति संसृतिः । (*Ibid I 25*)

(ग) अतो ज्ञेयस्य तत्त्वस्य सामस्त्येनाप्रथात्मकम् ।

ज्ञानमेव तदज्ञानं शिवसूत्रेषु भाषितम् ॥ (*Ibid I—26*)

(घ) यत्तु ज्ञेय सतत्त्वस्य पूर्णपूर्णप्रथात्मकम् ।

तदुत्तरोत्तरं ज्ञानं तत्तत्संसार शान्तिदम् ॥ *Ibid* (I—32)

(ङ) रागद्यक्लुषोऽस्म्यन्तः शून्योऽहं कर्तृतोऽभिमतः ।

इत्थं समासव्यासाभ्यां ज्ञानं मुञ्चति तावतः ॥ (*Ibid* I—33)

(I3) सांख्यवेदादि संसिद्धान् श्रीकण्ठस्तदहर्मुटवे ।

सृजत्येव पुनस्तेन न सम्यङ् मुक्तिरीदृशी ॥ (*Agamah*)

(I4) क) बुद्धतत्त्वे स्थिता बौद्धाः गुणेष्वप्यार्हताः स्थिताः ।

स्थिता वेदविदः पुंसि त्वव्यक्ते पाञ्च रात्रिकाः ॥ (*Agamah*)

ख) पौरुषं चैव सांख्यानां सुखदुःखादिवर्जितम् ।

षड्विंशकं तु देवेशि योग शास्त्रे परं पदम् ॥

मासुले कारुके चैव मायातत्त्वं प्रकीर्तितम् ।

व्रते पाशुपते प्रोक्तमैश्वरं परमं पदम् ॥ (*Agamah*)

WESTERN AND EASTERN SPIRITUAL VALUES OF LIFE

DR. R. K. Kaw.

My purpose in this paper is to trace the concept of Spirituality in the West and also to reveal our common ideal of building one-world society (*Vasudhaira Kutumbakam*) on the basis of 'a spiritual kinship which is universal among the peoples of mankind.'

Spirituality in the East : Spirituality is the *dharma* (religion) of the spirit (*Atman*) and is the same as 'humanity', the *dharma* of human beings, that is implied in the 'doctrine of man' or the 'doctrine of humanism'. It means that each human individual is to be regarded as a part of the great Divinity or a spark of the divine, viz, human recognition of human dignity in each and every individual. In our cultural heritage, the spiritual equality of man is the corner - stone. This is the notion of spirituality in India today as it was ever since, and is rooted in its scriptures and philosophy. India has regarded the entire humanity as comprising a single family. From time to time, saints and seers of this country have preached and practised what is best and noblest for human beings, as is clear from the following evidence :

- (1) The Vedic seers have repeatedly taught (and prayed for) the unity and unanimity of hearts and tranquillity and peace of mankind.
- (2) The earliest *Upanisadas* have emphasised the principle of unity and equality of mankind and the need of recognizing that principle for the peaceful existence and welfare of the whole human race. *Isa-vasjopanishad* 6 and 7 says :-

“ He who sees all creatures in himself, himself in all creatures; does not show abhorrence to any one, knowing all living beings to be² one's own self, seeing the unity of mankind, how can there be for him delusion, suffering or sorrow ? ”

(3) The author of the *Gita* enjoins all human values and cardinal³ virtues.

(4) The basic principle of all democracy is implicit in the famous Vedanta texts *Tat tvam asi* (That art thou) and *Jivo brahmaiva naparah* (Atman, the individual being, is Brahman, the Great Divinity). In the Pratyabhijna Philosophy, it is implied in the text :

Svatmaiva sarva jantunam eka eva mahesvarsh (The self of all living beings is one great Lord).⁴ This notion signifies the democratic idea of sovereignty of the human individual, superiority and dignity of man, and the unity and equality of human beings in modern terms.

(5) The ancient Vedantic concept of Atman as Brahman, a being who comprehends in himself all things that are human in knowledge, will and action, lost its meaning of unity and equality of human beings and the divinity or dignity of man in the course of the ages, and in Sankaracharya's time *Brahman* came to be understood as the impersonal being in whom there can be no distinction of this or that, good and evil, the beautiful and its opposite. Thus the conception of Vedanta changed to Absolute Monism. This conception needed re-orientation and so many later schools of thought, like the schools of Ramanuja, Vallabhacarya and Pratyabhijna, emerged to explain the central point of the Indian Philosophy, the integral outlook about Reality and the meaning and purpose of life, that influences and shapes all human activities and behaviour on this earth.

- (6) The Pratyabhijna System, which emerged in Kashmir during the ninth and tenth centuries A. D., believed in recognition of the supreme inheritance of man and 'recognition' of the supreme ends of life. It emphasised the principle of unity and equality of mankind in the such terms as '*Sarva-sivata*' and '*Sarva-samata*' and taught that the supreme inheritance of the human individual lies in his powers of comprehension and action and absolute freedom (*Svatantrya*) in creating a world for himself, a better and happier world for mankind. *Sarva-sivata* in the system implies not only unity and divinity, but also the peace and tranquillity of the whole human race; *Sarva-samata* means equality and fraternity; whereas *Sarva-svatantrya* means liberty for all. The individual is essentially free, freedom is the inner being of the individual. Divinity (*Sivata*) stands for modern 'Dignity' which signifies that the personality of every human individual is sacred. Thus the Pratyabhijna school found a new way (*Navah margah*), a new system, for a better understanding of the Indian Philosophy.
- (7) Buddhism and Jainism, which arose in India in the 5th century B. C., being purely ethical systems, taught the principles of love, altruism and non-violence in such terms as 'maitri' (benevolence towards all creatures), 'karuna' (compassion towards the distressed), 'ahimsa' and indifference towards others' fault (*Titiksa*). Renunciation, which they enjoined, meant 'to live in love with all, to give up the idea of separateness and to work for the whole humanity.' The aspirant says: 'I must bear the burden of all living beings.'
- (8) Sikhism emerged in India in the 15th century A. D. The hall-mark of Sikh catholicism is its doctrine of universal brotherhood and world peace.

- (9) Spirituality of the Middle-East countries is based on the philosophy of Islam (better represented by Sufism) which teaches such great values as love of mankind, sympathy towards one's neighbour, help to the poor and the fear of God. These are the basic Islamic principles of life, nay the essentials of human culture, without which one can neither be a good human being nor a good citizen. These principles which Islam preached, as it spread in India from 8th century A. D., worked as a levelling force with a passion for equality amidst the differences of caste and creed.

Spirituality in the West: The mind of the West has evolved from the Judeo-Christian faith of the ancient Middle East and from the science, philosophy, and art of classical Greece, together with the law of Rome. Spiritualistic and humanistic trends in Western civilization, i. e., in the civilization of Europe and America, are therefore an outgrowth of Christian faith, the doctrine of brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. From this notion sprang the law of neighbourly love, that is to say, love of all men, the idea of the importance of the individual soul in the eyes of God, the idea of righteous behaviour according to a moral law and so on. From ancient Greece and Rome came a secular humanism, the principles of justice and the value of knowledge of Art, Science and Philosophy.

- (1) In the Christian notion of brotherhood of man are rooted all the Western movements which are directed towards the service of man and for the good and benefit of all human beings, and all humanistic and pious acts for the well-being of individual persons and of society. The holy Bible teaches the gospel of love, goodness and forgiveness.⁵

- (2) From the same spiritualistic trends grew the Social Democratic movement, and Philanthropic, Cosmopolitan, Theosophical and Scouts movements and the UNESCO and UN activities.
- (3) The great philosopher-poet of the West, Tennyson, conceived the idea of unity and divinity of human beings in such expressions as, 'Man-in-God is one with God-in-man,' which implies that humanity in God is the same as divinity or spirituality in man. This spiritual thought is the common ground where the West and the East meet.

Spirituality in the world Today : India proclaimed to the world, for the first time in the modern age, the message of *Ahimsa* or non-violence and universal brotherhood and a desire for building One-World Society. (*Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam*). It is a happy augury that this spiritualistic mission of India is being responded to by the Western peoples and nations in the same spirit. The following teachers of India have emphasised the need of spirituality today :-

- (1) The supremacy of the moral law, the law of truth and love and nonviolence, which originated from India's ancient notions of spirituality, was first taught by Mahatma Gandhi, for the emancipation of humanity.
- (2) Tagore, in his immortal book, 'The Religion of Man', conceived that consciousness of spiritual unity of all human beings is the only remedy for 'such an epidemic of moral perversity, such a universal churning up of jealousy, greed, hatred and mutual suspicion.'

He says, 'This consciousness finds its manifestation in science, philosophy and the arts, in social ethics, in all things that carry their ultimate value in themselves. These are truly spiritual and they should all be consciously co-ordinated in one great religion of Man, representing his ceaseless endeavour to reach the perfect in great thoughts and deeds and dreams, in immortal symbols of art, revealing his aspiration for rising in dignity of being.'

- (3) Sri Aurobindo has also left the same message for the people. He says, 'Equality of the spirit is the sole real equality, oneness which is for ever immanent in all the multiplicities of the universe'⁶.

- (4) Inspiring and thought-provoking is the immortal message of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan to the world:

'.....Within each incarnate soul dwells the god-consciousness which we must seek out and awaken. When mankind awakens to the truth, universal brotherhood will follow,.....One whose life is rooted in the experience of the supreme, spontaneously develops love for all creation. He will be free from hatred for any man..... He will boldly work for a society in which man can be free and fearless.....He will oppose terror and cruelty.....He will give voice to those who have no voice.

".....Let those truths of the spirit sway the minds of men, transform the lives of men. The truths of the spirit are liberality, understanding, freedom.....Let us, therefore, send out.....a message to this groping, uncertain, discontented world: that love and not hatred, that freedom and not fear, that faith and not doubt, have in them the healing of the nations. If we carry out these

principles in our daily life and in our international relations, out of the anguish of the world will be born a new unity of mankind, a unity in which the ideas of the spirit will find safety and security."

All the above-mentioned world teachers and leaders of men have been dreaming of the 'one humanity realizing its perfection through love and mutual self-surrender.' The spiritual insight of man, viz., a 'renaissance of man's spirit' alone will, indeed, stop the present ailment of humanity turning into a 'conflagration of suicide'. The hope of security and welfare of humanity lies (in the words of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan) in "*a recognition of those supreme ends of life to which science, organization, discipline and obedience are to be harnessed.*"

Here is the real basis of East-West understanding.

FOOTNOTES

1. Rg-Vdda :

The Vedic seer prays for the unity and the unanimity of hearts of people in Rg—Veda X. 191. 15:

समानी वा आकूति समाका हृदयानि वः ।

समानमस्तु वो मनो यथा वः सुसहासति ॥

Trans: May one and the same be your aim and purpose (*Sankalpa*) and be your minds of one accord. United be the thoughts of all, so that all your actions be good and beautiful (i. e. be conducive to the good and benefit of one and all.)

Atharva-Veda :

In *Atharva-Veda* 19, 1, the Vedic seer enunciates his cherished goal and ambition of life :

इदमुच्छेयो ऽवसानमागां शिवे मे दद्यात्पृथिवी अभूतां ।

असपत्ताः प्रदिशो मे भवन्तु न वै त्वा दिष्मो अभयं नो अस्तु ॥

May we go ahead in the path of tranquillity and peace; May heaven and earth become peaceful for us (me); May there be no enemies for us anywhere; we have no enmity for any person; May we be now fearless.

2. Upanisads :

ॐ पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदं पूर्णात् पूर्णमुदच्चे ।
पूर्णस्य पूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावश्यते ॥

Every individual being is part of the Great Divinity (all humanity is to be regarded as the Great Divinity). This would imply in the words of Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya :

“To serve one is to serve God Himself. The spirit has led to many philanthropic activities by (people)....”

The same Upanisad has condemned exploitation of man by man. It has laid down the motto : “Live and let others live.”

ॐ ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किं च जगत्यां जगत् ।
तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्य स्विद्धनम् ॥
असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसावृताः ।
तां स्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति ये के चात्महनो जनाः ॥

Trans : “As God is the self of all living beings and inmost centre of each and every object, man should not have aggrandisement and should not exploit others, as they are his own self.” To exploit or do violence to others is to kill one's own self.

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मन्येवानुपश्यति ।
सर्वभूतेषु चात्मानं ततो क विजुगुप्सते ॥
यस्मिन् सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मैवाभूद्विजानतः ।
तत्र को मोहः कः शोकः एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥

“He who sees all creatures in himself, himself in all creatures; does not show abhorrence to any one; knowing all living beings to be one's own self, seeing the unity of mankind, how can there be for him delusion, suffering or sorrow?”

3. **Human Values in Bhagvadgita :**

Gita enjoins the followins virtues:—

Non-violence in thought, word and deed (अहिंसा) truthfulness and geniality of speech (सत्यं); absence of anger (अक्रोधः); renunciation of selfish interest (त्यागः); tranquillity of mind (शान्तिः); kindness to all living beings (दया भूतेषु); absence of malice (अद्रोहः); forgiveness (क्षमा); fortitude (धृति); absence of enmity towards others (अद्वेष्टा सर्वभूतानाम्); to be friendly and compassionate (मैत्रः करुण एव च); free from egoism (निरहंकारः) forgiving by nature (क्षमी); to be not a source of annoyance to the world (यस्मात्रोद्धिजते लोकः)... Hypocrisy, arrogance, pride, anger, harshness and ignorance are condemned as demoniacal qualities.

4. एको देवः सर्वभूतेषु गूढः। *Svetasvatra Upnisad*

5. 1. *St Matthew* 5, 44:

"But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

2. *Matthew* 6, 14:

"For if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly father will also forgive you."

6. The divine mission of India for the world is "the spiritualism of life" or "the divinization of humanity". This is the inner significance of India's philosophy. This is how India's soul, says Sri Aurobindo, 'preserved the knowledge that preserves the world'. India has believed in the ultimate realization of the truth—the sovereign rule of the spirit over life and its activities.

ABOUT OURSELVES

Departure of Sardar K. M. Panikkar :

In June last Sardar K. M. Panikkar relinquished the post of Vice-Chancellor here to join the University of Mysore as Vice-Chancellor. During his brief tenure here from May, 1961, to June, 1963, considerable progress was registered in the development and functioning of the University in various ways. The building programme was executed with commendable speed, the salary scales of the teachers were raised, and several new teaching departments were established. Sardar panikkar's departure is a real loss to the University.

The New Vice-Chancellor :

Professor T. M. Advani has taken over as the new Vice-Chancellor of the University. He assumed charge of his office on 23rd July, 1963. Prior to his coming here, Professor Advani was Principal of the Jai Hind College in Bombay. It is of interest to note here that about 50 years ago he started his career at S. P. College, Srinagar, as Professor of English. He was a member of the Senate of the Bombay University for thirty years and its Vice-Chancellor for three years. He was also a member of the Emotional Integration Committee.

We welcome Professor Advani and hope that, with his rich and varied experience, he will further strengthen the functioning of the University.

Chacellor's Tour Abroad :

Sadar-i-Riyasat Dr. Karan Singh, Chancellor of the University, went abroad on a tour of Europe for about a month in July. During his tour he attended also the Commonwealth Universities Conference in London.

Special Meeting of the Senate :

An emergency meeting of the Senate was called by the Vice-Chancellor in Jammu in March, 1963. A special feature of the meeting was the decision to request the Government to appoint a Committee to look into the various problems of the University.

The personnel of this Committee was announced by the Hon'ble Education Minister on behalf of the Government in April, 1963. Dr. Ganguli, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Delhi, was appointed Chairman of the Committee which, in addition to the Chairman, includes the following members:—

1. Shri G. A. Mukhtar, Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir Government.
2. Shri J. L. Kaul, Retired Principal, S. P. College, Srinagar.
3. Rajkumar Shiv Dev Singh, Election Commissioner, Jammu and Kashmir.
4. Shri Ghulam Mohd., Ex-Registrar of Jammu and Kashmir University, at present Principal, Government College, Baramula. (Member—Secretary).

It is learnt that the Committee will submit its report in September, 1963.

Additions to the teaching staff:

The following new members joined the teaching staff of the University:

Department of Hindi :

1. Shri J. N. Tiwari, Professor and Head of the Department.
2. Shri Pran Nath Trisal, Lecturer

Department of Urdu :

1. Shri A. Q. Sarwari, Professor and Head of the Department.

Department of Botany :

1. Dr. Janki Ammal, Honorary Professor.

Department of Physics :

1. Dr. M. K. Machwe, Reader and Head of the Department.
2. Dr. M. L. Narchal, Lecturer.
3. Shri T. R. Verma, Lecturer.

Department of Sanskrit :

Dr. Ved Ghai, Lecturer.

Important Decisions of the University :

The University has decided to hold every examination of the University, except the Matriculation Examination, bi-annually from 1963.

The Post-graduate Department of Sanskrit, which started functioning at the Srinagar campus at the beginning of the last session, was later shifted to Jammu.

Obituary

We record here with the deepest sorrow the untimely demise on July 23, 1963, in the prime of his life and after a brief illness, of Shri Ghulam Mohammad, Director of Physical Education, Jammu and Kashmir University. Shri Ghulam Mohammad, since his college days, had established a great reputation as a sportsman and a gentleman. He was the first incumbent on his post and laboured untiringly throughout the period of his active service to establish the University Department of Physical Education on a sound footing. During his term of office the University found a creditable place on the sports map of India, and the deceased made his mark as a participant in several all-India sports bodies.

We express our heartfelt sympathies with the University and the bereaved family of Shri Ghulam Mohammad at this irreparable loss.

**THE JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.**

DATE LOAND

Class No. _____ **Book No** _____

Vol. _____ **Copy** _____

Accession No. _____

--	--	--

Our Contributors

MRS. ZOHRA HUSAINI, Lecturer, Lady Shri Ram College for Women, New Delhi.

SHRI ISH KUMAR M. A., (Panjab), B. A. (Cantab), Reader, Department of English, Panjab University, Chandigarh, Panjab.

SHRI N. L. AHMAD, M. A. (Aligarh), B. Litt (Oxon.), Retired Professor of History and Principal, Elphinstone College, Bombay.

SHRI B. N. Pandit, M. A., M. O. L., B. T., Reader in Sanskrit, Government College, Anantnag, Kashmir.

DR R. K. KAW, M. A., Ph. D., Head of the Department of Indology (General), V. Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, Panjab.

**THE JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.**

DATE LOAND

Class No. _____ **Book No** _____

Vol. _____ **Copy** _____

Accession No. _____

--	--	--

Printed at the Normal Press, Srinagar, Kashmir, India,
and published by Shri S. L. Pandit, Post-graduate Department of English,
Jammu and Kashmir University, Srinagar (India), on behalf of the
Board of Editors.

**THE JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.**

DATE LOAND

Class No. _____ **Book No** _____

Vol. _____ **Copy** _____

Accession No. _____

--	--	--	--

**THE JAMMU & KASHMIR UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.**

DATE LOAND

Class No. _____ **Book No** _____

Vol. _____ **Copy** _____

Accession No. _____

--	--	--



Allama Iqbal Library



459998